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PROCEEDINGS
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SOCIETY

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Stephen Salisbury

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OF THE
American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. XVIII.

OCTOBER 24, 1906—OCTOBER 16, 1907.



STANFORD UNIVERSITY

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1907.



Stephen Salisbury

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1907.

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NOTE.

The eighteenth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of the Society October 24, 1906 to October 16, 1907 inclusive.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Samuel S. Green, Samuel Utley and G. Stanley Hall.

Papers and communications have been received from Samuel S. Green, William H. Holmes, William B. Weeden, A. Lawrence Rotch, Franklin B. Dexter, George L. Kittredge, Victor H. Paltsits, J. Franklin Jameson, Edward Channing, Andrew McF. Davis, Clarence W. Bowen, Charles A. Chase and Charles H. Lincoln.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Babu Protap Chunder Mosoomdar, Rockwood Hoar, Albert S. Gatschet, Señor Justo Benites, Señor Alfredo Chavero, George G. Benedict, Solomon Lincoln and John T. Doyle.

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†Life members.

SALISBURY MEMORIAL

At a meeting of the Council held on October 15, 1907, on motion of Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN it was voted that the proceedings of the Council on the occasion of the death of our late President, Mr. STEPHEN SALISBURY, be incorporated in the next number of our Proceedings with a suitable portrait of Mr. SALISBURY.

SALISBURY MEMORIAL.

The Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, for eighteen years President of the American Antiquarian Society, died at his residence in Worcester after a short illness, on Nov. 16, 1905.

A special meeting of the Council was called for 3.30 P. M. on the day of the funeral, Nov. 20.

A quorum was present, but as many members of the Council were still in attendance at the interment, the meeting was adjourned without formal action.

The Council met again at the Hall of the Society in Worcester on Wednesday, Dec. 13, at 2.30 P. M.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL. D., the Second Vice-President, occupied the chair.

Dr. GREEN said:—

It is on rare occasions that special meetings of the Council of this Society are ever called; and then only to pay a passing tribute to the memory of an officer who has been closely identified with its work and its welfare. Not long ago a similar meeting was held in this room to testify our respect for the memory of Senator HOAR; and now we are called together again to show our loving regard for the graceful and modest officer who presided on that occasion.

STEPHEN SALISBURY will be greatly missed at the meetings of the Antiquarian Society, on which he spent so much time and thought in order to make them both instructive and attractive. His personality was so pleasant

that the members will long bear in mind the impression he made on them not only as the presiding officer of the Society, but as the gracious host of many social gatherings in his family mansion. In this respect he was only following the example set by his father, which in no degree was lessened by the son. I was often a guest under his roof, and less than a month before his death I enjoyed his hospitality; and I find it hard now to realize the fact that he is gone, and forever. Born to great wealth, as his father before him was, he knew the responsibility of riches, and duly appreciated the trust. After leaving college he had many inducements to lead a life of ease and leisure, but he never yielded to the temptation, as he was not built that way. He then passed several years in foreign travel for pleasure and study, and afterward took a full course at the Harvard Law School, where he learned the technical intricacies connected with the management of a large property. A member of many learned societies, a director of many corporations and financial institutions, a manager of many charitable and educational organizations, his civic duties were manifold, but his ability and readiness to work and his willingness to serve the public were great enough to include all these responsibilities in his care and attention.

To the Worcester members of the Council, who are so familiar with Mr. Salisbury's activities in this neighborhood, I leave the duty to deal with the more special analysis of his character.

The following communication was received from the Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D. D., first Vice-President:

At the annual meeting of the Society in October, no member present seemed in better health or spirits than our President. There was the same thoughtful and cordial welcome for every one, the same real interest in every subject presented, the same intelligence in those private discussions which give the life to our meetings, and the same quiet hospitality in his own house which made every one of us regard him as a personal friend. Personally, I like to say that as I went and came in Worcester, I was greatly touched to see how generally men looked upon his death, each as a personal loss in his first thought, speaking afterwards of the great loss of such a life to the community.

The years of his connection with our Society will always be noticed by its friends as prosperous and successful.

The administration of his father marked a signal advance in the work of the Society. Our late President himself, entered with spirit into such work when he was quite young, and after his father's death of course he was chosen President, and it became the central pleasure of his life to set forward the work of the Society.

His early interest in Central America was increased by his intelligent visits to Yucatan and other provinces, and every year brought to our cabinet and to our library and to our transactions new results of his personal interest in the antiquities of those regions. But he did not by any means confine his antiquarian studies in one direction. From one meeting to another he would occupy himself in the wide range of historical interests which are so well represented in the membership of our society, and he would take care that at each meeting and in each publication a sufficient number of such interests should be represented. The papers prepared and read at his request during his short administration fully justified our founder in taking the large continental name of America for the Antiquarian Society. Mr. Salisbury would not leave it to the hasty special work of a few days to prepare for a semi-annual meeting. On the other hand, whenever he read or whenever he talked, he had us in mind and was asking himself or asking somebody who would prepare a fit paper on such a subject or such a subject in which he thought the Society had a concern.

In a review of the work of the Society since he was a member, the simple list of his own suggestions and contributions has a special interest to-day. The munificent gifts which he has made to the Society would of themselves have furnished a fit memorial of his life and service. But there was no need of such a memorial. His administration itself would be always remembered by any who have joined in our work or shared in the interest which it involved.

The wide range of Mr. Salisbury's interest in the welfare of all around him is shown in the remarkable list of his benefactions to individuals and to societies.

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE said:—

Mr. Chairman:—As one of the oldest members of the Antiquarian Society, may I be permitted to say a few words in addition to what has already been said of our late president.

Mr. Salisbury was one of my oldest and best friends, and what I shall say will be largely of a personal nature. My acquaintance with him goes back to my school days and for the last twenty or more years I have been very closely connected with him in the affairs of this Society and otherwise. Speaking from this experience I can truly say that no member has been so faithful in his duties and constant in working for its good. He has always manifested a most practical interest in its welfare; in season and out of season he always had its interests at heart and was always ready to give up other business and cares to consult and advise with those associated with him in its management. Months before the regular meetings, it was his custom to plan and prepare for them by securing some one to write the reports of the Council and to read papers upon antiquarian or historical subjects, that the meetings might be successful. Very few of our members, I think, knew of the great amount of time and thought he gave to the Antiquarian Society and its objects, and I fear it will be a long time before we shall find one who will fill his place in this regard.

He was constant in his visits to our rooms to look after details of management and to encourage by his presence those who were employed there. That he was most generous in his financial help as shown in the large addition to our Building Fund founded by his honored father, we all know, but of his smaller contributions made most quietly and without thought of any thanks, we shall never know. His very generous thought of the Society has been shown since his death by the liberal bequest in his will. Of his quiet and unostentatious method in helping other educational and charitable institutions of Worcester, it is not necessary to speak at this time; suffice it to say they have been most timely and generous and highly appreciated by those directly interested.

I have not words at my command at this time to express my personal admiration of him as a man and a citizen.

We all know and admire his great modesty where he himself was most concerned. He was most democratic in his intercourse with all men. He was a gentleman of the old school who thought more of a good character in his friends than of any financial or social distinction. Although a man of great wealth, the humblest of his friends were never made to think of it when in his presence, and were always treated by him with the same courtesy and consideration as was manifested by his honored father. His charity and appreciation of the good deeds of others was a prominent trait of his character. One rarely heard him speak ill of anyone; he was more ready to defend than to criticise and find fault with his fellowmen. To his near friends he was most loyal and had ever in mind their welfare and he was always prompt to extend his sympathy in time of trouble, and to rejoice with them in any good fortune that might come to them. A man of strong feelings and perhaps somewhat decided in his own views, he was always thoughtful of the views of others and ready to hear them with patience even if not agreeing in their conclusions.

I wish that some fitting and appropriate memorial of our late president might be displayed in our Hall, some lasting memento of one so long active in promoting the best interest of the Society.

As one of my best and trusted friends, one to whom I could go for advice or counsel in the full assurance of his sympathy, I could not let this occasion pass without expressing, even if very inadequately, my grateful and loving tribute to the memory of our honored President and to express my high appreciation of the great loss we have sustained by his untimely removal.

Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN said:—

Mr. President, There was conspicuously displayed on the temple at Delphi an inscription which characterized Mr. Salisbury. It is "Nothing too much." He was never extreme in his opinions, but always conservative.

His position in Worcester was such and his connection with institutions of different kinds and with business corporations so manifold that his influence was very widely felt. His presence was everywhere sought, and he had to perform somewhat perfunctorily many of the duties

imposed upon him as a member of numerous boards of trustees and directors. In many cases, however, he gave much time and thought to the furtherance of the interests of the organizations of which he was an officer.

The community, as I have written elsewhere, seems to me to have lost a much needed balance-wheel in Mr. Salisbury. His mind moved slowly, but the result of its working was very sure to be most sensible. I presume that all the gentlemen present in noticing his hesitation in speech, when presiding, have wished to prompt him and supply a word for which he seemed to be seeking, but have found that when the word came it was the one that best expressed the idea he wished to convey and a better one than we should have offered had we interposed to aid him. His mind was working although the decision was slowly reached.

As a few of us have sat together to discuss a subject his views were presented only after several others had spoken but when expressed were generally correct. It has been noticeable, however, that Mr. Salisbury increased in fluency as he went on in life and, generally, as in the instance of his father, that he grew in mind as he grew in years.

Whatever Mr. Salisbury did he wished to do thoroughly, and with much regard of details. This disposition made work burdensome to him at times. Especially was this the case immediately after the death of his father. The latter had attended, himself, to the management of his estate and when the care of a large property came upon the son it overwhelmed him. At that time he felt the need of intimacy with someone and chose me to receive his full confidence. I advised him, as did other friends, to secure the services of an able assistant. He did so, and his usual method of conducting business came to be the plan of selecting a good executive officer and putting large confidence in him in the different trusts for which he was responsible, reserving to himself only the final decision.

A characteristic of Mr. Salisbury in conducting a transaction was to throw himself into the position of the other party, and his conclusions were never reached without doing full justice to the man with whom he was dealing.

He had an interesting trait of liking to kill two birds with one stone. For example he was a generous contributor to the funds of the American Unitarian Association, but it

added to his pleasure in giving to have as many persons made life members of the society as could be so constituted by the amount of his contribution. The result is that more members of that association belong to the Second Parish in Worcester than to almost any other church.

If he were helping someone by having work done for him, he liked to have the work performed by some person who needed assistance. He often aided new business enterprises, but while he might not feel at all sure that they would be successful he wanted to have stock for his gift and take the chance of benefit from a prosperous outcome.

The most striking feature in Mr. Salisbury's character was his readiness to do fine things and make generous gifts unprompted and unsupported by enthusiasm.

He was to be found in his seat in the church to which he belonged, every Sunday forenoon. He would have preferred to spend pleasant Sundays in driving into the country and joining in a picnic. He was not a man of strong religious feeling nor did he have assurance in regard to our knowledge respecting a future life. He went to church because he felt it to be a duty to go and because he believed that religious institutions should be supported on account of their usefulness in the community.

Mr. Salisbury was a pessimist. Twenty years ago he had a great lack of confidence in men and women and was especially disturbed by what he considered the bad manners of the children of to-day. He thought that they were not properly brought up and believed that young people, at the present time, are over-educated.

Seeing so much of the seamy side of life as he did, Mr. Salisbury grew more and more distrustful of men and of their ways of doing things. Still he was an humble man, and when he believed he had obtained the consensus of opinion among persons most trusted by him he acted in accordance with that agreement. A marked example of such action was the expenditure, with little enthusiasm, of large sums of money in advancing the interests of educational institutions. He was guided in this matter solely by duty.

Again, Mr. Salisbury had no strong interest in art. He could encourage the destruction of a row of old trees and, without lamenting their loss, speak in praise of their removal

because of the clearness of the view obtained and from practical and business considerations. His eye was not offended by the presence of an ugly bridge which at a small expenditure could have been made sightly or even an ornament. Still, having had it brought to his attention forcibly and convincingly that there was need of an art museum in Worcester he established and endowed one; and having become convinced of its possible utility and the largeness of its needs left it a magnificent legacy.

I do not say these things in disparagement of Mr. Salisbury, but in admiration of a man who without strong interests could do great things from a sense of duty.

He once said to me, "Men say to me that I must feel great satisfaction in the acts of benevolence I am able to perform, but the fact is they give me very little pleasure."

It is not true, however, that Mr. Salisbury found no satisfaction in beneficence. During his life his gifts were widely distributed and bestowed upon a great variety of institutions, representing different groups of citizens, and upon an untold number of individuals. The result was that he was generally respected and regarded with the kindest feelings. He found a moderate enjoyment in the prominence which was awarded him and in the consciousness that he had the favorable regard of the entire community. Still this enjoyment never became a passion. Neither did it make him proud. Mr. Salisbury was in heart and in manner an humble man and a true democrat. He looked coolly upon himself, and while he underestimated most of his fellowmen, never over-estimated himself. Once and again he said to me, "I have enjoyed a very unusual number of privileges. I hope that no one believes that I regard myself as better than other men. It is my luck only which has given me a fortune and position."

Mr. Salisbury might have had high political honors had he wished for them, but he steadily refused to allow his name to be used in candidacy for places of especial distinction. Worcester was a good enough place for him; he preferred it to Washington. He could on several occasions have been chosen Mayor of Worcester, but he did not want the place.

Mr. Salisbury's manner was always pleasant and he had a winning smile; however much irritated he controlled his feelings. He was frank but studiously polite.

Mr. Salisbury's tastes were very simple.

Those of us who belong to a little social organization, the members of which dine together once a fortnight in winter, and discuss some interesting subject afterwards, remember with especial pleasure his geniality and his drollery. But I have felt that he was happiest when, free from care, a few intimate friends sat with him around his dining table at a midday meal on Sunday and talked unrestrainedly after dinner, or when the same group dined together at some other house, or attended an evening reception in the beautiful studio of a neighbor. A little party of congenial men and women, including singers and musicians, would spend an evening together singing and playing, conversing, and saying witty things, observing carefully all the proprieties of good society and yet enjoying a slight strain of bohemianism. Mr. Salisbury beamed when participating in a simple entertainment of that sort and perhaps reached his most unalloyed enjoyment when at the close of the evening everybody in the little circle seized some musical instrument, or sat, one at a grand piano, another at an organ, a third at a harp, while a fourth person would station himself in front of a chime of Swiss bells, and a lively tune was started, all joining; there would come forth mingled sounds and there would be felt a mild excitement resembling, I presume, the wilder strains and the noisier expressions of mirth which characterize such a function at a Spanish fandango.

Before Mr. Salisbury's will was made public, it would, I think, have been the spontaneous wish of the citizens of Worcester to erect a statue in his memory. There is a present dissatisfaction with the provisions of that instrument, but twenty years hence when it is called to mind that almost the whole of his large estate has been given to Worcester, when men realize that there is hardly an institution in that place that did not share in his beneficence during his life time, and when in walks about the city a beautiful park is pointed to as his gift, a fine building in a conspicuous place is shown as the stately house he provided, by his will, for this Society, when his gifts to the Polytechnic Institute, to Clark University and the Society of Antiquity are considered, and there appear the magnificent buildings and collections of a remarkable Art Museum,

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and its valuable influence on the industries of the city and on the taste of its citizens becomes evident, the feeling of the greatness of the indebtedness of Worcester will be realized and in addition to whatever memorial the governing body of the Art Museum may provide there will arise a strong desire for a monument to express the revived public appreciation of the beneficence of an unusually wise and good man.

Mr. Salisbury made me a confidant in regard to the provisions of the first will which he made after his father's death, but apparently destroyed afterwards. In that instrument his purpose seemed to be to lighten the burden of the municipality of Worcester by giving large aid to the City Hospital, the Free Public Library and other city institutions. He also favored especially such societies as had to do with provision for the needy, of such elementary requirements as food and clothing. Apparently when he made his last will he had concluded that the city and eleemosynary institutions could be confidently left for support to others, and that it was well for him to provide mainly for the interests of history, education and art.

MR. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER said:—

I have not deemed it incumbent on me to prepare anything for this occasion, though my presence from a distance will show in part my appreciation of our late President and of all that he has done for us. I count it a privilege, however, to express my hearty concurrence with what has been said by those who knew him so much longer and more intimately, both in respect to the sense of personal loss and the loss to our Society.

MR. SALISBURY impressed me most deeply by his entire genuineness, his courtesy, his simplicity and lack of ostentation, and the remarkable sanity and good sense of his judgments. Perhaps he went too far in the subordination of his individuality; but he will always stand in my remembrance as a man who responded sympathetically to an unusually wide circle of interests and who gave himself up to the task of filling well his destined place. We, his friends, can best honor his memory by doing our work in the same thorough, quiet, conscientious, and self-effacing spirit in which he did his.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS said:—

We meet as officials of the American Antiquarian Society to bear testimony to the respect and esteem in which we hold the memory of our late President. Yet, while our minds turn back to the years of faithful service and the benefactions which have identified his name with this Society, and while each of us perhaps desires that his own name shall be associated on the records of the Society with some appreciative testimonial in his behalf, I can not but feel that, whatever phase of his life may suggest itself to the individual as a topic for special development to-day, whether it be that of the generous public benefactor, the philanthropist, the faithful citizen, the astute financier, the friend and protector of literature and art, or the simple honest man, the prevailing sentiment of those who now listen to my voice must at this moment be that of affectionate sorrow at the loss of a personal friend. Our records bear upon their pages the story of his devotion to our service, too plainly engrossed to require renewed testimony on our part. Within the membership of the Society and outside the field of the records, the mention of his name will always bring to the minds of those who were permitted to enjoy them the hospitable courtesies which he was accustomed to extend to us, and will call up the picture of the urbane host whose greatest pleasure it was to administer to the comfort and enjoyment of his guests.

There are those among us who can bear testimony, through years of daily contact, to his untiring devotion to the different corporations and societies with which his name was associated. Others connected with the educational institutions of this vicinity can develop the value of his gifts in that direction. The story of his philanthropic contributions may not be so easy to disclose, for acts of this sort were not ordinarily performed by him in an open, public way, nor were gifts of this kind ever made by him with a view to secure the approval of his fellowmen, nevertheless, there are some here to-day who know more or less even of these.

We were all of us personal friends of his, and several of us date the inception of this friendship in the days of early boyhood. I am one of these, and as I look back upon his career I am struck with its parallelism to that

of his father. Both father and son were Presidents and benefactors of this Society. Both were for brief periods members of the Massachusetts Senate. The father, the second of the name of Stephen Salisbury, was interested in educational matters and like the son evinced that interest in substantial form. In selecting avenues for the distribution of his philanthropic benefactions, he too was guided by his cool judgment and not by any desire to secure the approval of others. Both father and son were contributory to the industrial growth of Worcester, not as manufacturers, but as providers of suitable buildings for the conduct of manufacturing enterprises.

Look back sixty years or thereabouts and see the little brick mill at Salisbury pond, the east end occupied by Deacon Washburn as a wire factory, the west end by Phelps & Bickford, manufacturers of looms. Think for a moment to what extent the subsequent prosperity of Worcester is due to the two industries then housed in this small building. Then turn to Lincoln Square and see the activity at that time at Ruggles, Nourse & Mason's plough factory, but a short distance away from the square, where seeds of future growth were being planted by pioneers in that great industry, the manufacture of agricultural implements. At Lincoln Square also, sheltered in the block now standing opposite this hall, were several firms engaged in the manufacture of pegged boots and shoes, the Howe sewing machine not having been at that time invented and the possibilities of our Lynns and Brocktons not being then suspected. This backward glance associates the name of Salisbury with the material welfare of the town and city in which the father and son spent their lives and in whose prosperity they both took such a lively interest.

We, who compose the Council of the Antiquarian Society, mourn the loss of a friend—not only a friend to us personally—but also to the institution to which we are all bound by ties of membership and which has honored us by placing us in charge of its affairs.

The City of Worcester will miss the presence of a loyal son, who during his entire career never wavered in his devotion to the place of his birth, and never faltered in the performance of his civic duties.

The various societies, organizations, and institutions, religious, historical, philanthropic, literary, artistic, or social, of which Mr. Salisbury was a member, will unite in the assertion that he was a man who never thrust himself forward and never shirked an obvious duty.

Calm; reserved; equable in temperament; not over confident in himself, yet not easily swerved from an opinion which he conceived to be well-founded; courteous in bearing; dignified in deportment; never self-asserting and never acting with a view to secure popular approval; loyal in friendship, but not demonstrative; honest, upright, and straight-forward; Stephen Salisbury passed through life making hosts of friends, among whom there were but few however, who could claim that this friendship was intimate.

When lying prostrate upon his last bed of sickness, all Worcester watched with apprehension the discouraging quality of the daily bulletins issued by his physicians, and the sad character of the news was flashed over the wires so that those not near at hand were also prepared for the fatal termination of the disease. Cut off thus in the full plenitude of his power our first thought was how unfortunate that this career of usefulness should have been extinguished while so great possibilities for the future remained in force. Yet we may well doubt, whether, if he had possessed the power to control events he would not have ordained that it should be as it is; that our last vivid impression of him should comprehend the quiet dignity with which he presided at our October meeting; the good fellowship of his friendly greetings; and the pleasant associations which now surround his memory, since we think of him only at his best. His failing vision made possible that at no distant day he would become—for a time at least—a sightless prisoner in his lonely mansion.

His death under conditions like these would have been looked upon as a happy release from suffering. Is it not probable that he would have preferred that he should be removed from our midst under circumstances which would arouse sorrow rather than sympathy, so that his passing away would be thought of as a loss to the public rather than as a release for himself?

We who have watched him from year to year as he presided over the Society, can recall the manner in which he

conquered the hesitancy with which he at first handled our meetings, until at last the impression made by his easy dignity when in the chair, was the same that he made elsewhere. How his appearance affected our fellow members was well expressed by one who was present at our last meeting and who wrote: "He will linger in my memory as a pleasant type of the old New England gentleman."

Mr. E. HARLOW RUSSELL said:—

I have perhaps less warrant than any other member of this Council to detain you with any contribution that I can make to the tributes proper to this sad occasion. My personal relations with Mr. Salisbury, while always friendly, did not extend over a long period of time, nor were they ever very close; but within certain moderate limits of intimacy I saw a good deal of him and felt that I got some understanding, or at least some clear impressions, of the character of the man and of his attitude to the community and to the age in which he lived. His friends all know that he often expressed himself with considerable frankness about men and things, and though uniformly dignified and considerate, with the reserve and courtesy of a gentleman, he knew his own mind and did not hesitate to state his views with definiteness and sometimes with the emphasis of strong conviction. Though usually more inclined to listen than to talk, he did not seem to have much in his mind that he was studious to conceal.

My first and most constant feeling when in his presence was a delighted sense of his genial manner, particularly his sweet and gracious smile of greeting to his friends, which for genuine unaffected affability with no excess of effusiveness, I have never seen surpassed and seldom equaled or even approached. Though unfailing and uniform, this did not seem exactly like a habit, it seemed more like a fresh expression of present pleasure focused for the moment upon you alone, and you could not doubt its sincerity. If any portrait of Mr. Salisbury could have caught the expression I speak of, that feature alone would have made it a work of art. A similar refinement and sweetness often appeared in his voice, something like what Mr. Henry James says our speech in this country conspicuously lacks, a tone suggesting music but far removed from any quality of singsong.

When I have looked, from time to time, at the three miniatures hanging on the wall yonder—our late associate, and the father and grandfather whose common name he bore—I have sometimes felt oppressed with a sense of the responsibilities which devolved upon him as the inheritor not only of the large estate that fell into his possession at his father's death, but of the many offices and honors to which, as his father's only son, he naturally succeeded whether he would or no, by no means least among them being the presidency of our Society, a function that he has performed in all its details with so much diligence, devotion and success. I question whether we have realized the hours of thought and labor that have gone to the providing of our semi-annual programmes, things so easy to sit and enjoy, but so hard to arrange, year after year, to the edification of a company largely made up of accomplished and critical scholars. Then reflect that this was only one of scores, perhaps hundreds, of duties and functions, to the scrupulous fulfilment of which our friend gave up his whole time, and alas! more than his whole strength. Reflect, further, that in addition to the demands of duty, which he always gladly met, there pressed upon him innumerable interruptions and solicitations from all quarters of "the shipman's card," and the shrill voices of "the daughters of the horse-leech," sounded ever in his ears, that the unworthy out-numbered the deserving three to one, and where was the man to find rest or refuge, not to speak of recreation or leisure? My wonder is that he did not break down long before. I remember finding him one evening, soon after his benefaction in founding the Art Museum had first been made public, opening his mail. News of the gift, had, of course, gone over the country, and begging letters were pouring in upon him, mostly from strangers, setting forth the "claims" of this, that and the other institution or community upon his further bounty. With a patient shrug, he handed one after another of these missives to me, but betrayed no vexation, and I realized then, as I have realized increasingly since—especially since his death—how vast and manifold and insatiable is the demand made by a greedy public upon a man of wealth who shows a generous disposition. Let us not regret that the chorus of cavilling and dissent

which, to our shame, arose when Mr. Salisbury's will was published, could not reach his ears. But for all the weight, all the alternatives, that must have rested upon and perplexed his conscience, how patient and equable he seemed; his manner kindly, his mind open, his hand generous, his voice always on the side of whatever promised good for any individual or for the community at large. And this with no motive or thought of personal advantage, no taint of self-seeking, no thirst for praise or fame.

Mr. Salisbury played a difficult rôle, perhaps not of his own choosing, played it well and played it to the very end. He was a unique figure, a pillar of beneficence in the structure of this city. Where shall we look for his successor?

Much has been made—none too much—of his loyalty to duty, ignoring the beckonings of ease and pleasure. I recall the admiration with which he once told me of the resolute conduct of his friend Alexander Agassiz, who on a certain occasion had turned his back on a reunion of his college class because the ship in which he was to embark on an exploring expedition was ready to sail, although he could by a word have detained her for a day to attend the meeting. Mr. Salisbury's warm approval of the act showed that there had been given to him,

“ * * * Made lowly wise,
The spirit of self sacrifice.”

But our friend was no ascetic. He had a relish for the good things of life and was a genial companion. Like his father, he had a rare humor, a quaint way of saying incisive things, not describable but very enjoyable. His tastes were strikingly simple. Although possessed of means to do whatever he pleased in the way of luxurious living, and associating constantly with people touched more or less with love of display, how plain everything was about his house, his dress, his carriage, his mode of travelling, and how much he did with his own hands that many another would have called a servant to perform. As a host, we all know, his hospitality was always bountiful and elegant, but never extravagant or ostentatious.

His service to this Society was not so brilliant as it was conservative, comprehensive, well-balanced, and far-

reaching. No interest escaped his attention and no need appealed to him in vain. He gave full recognition and scope to every member's talents, and we all remember his unfailing courtesy as a presiding officer. He had little occasion to use tact or finesse,

"His armor was his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill."

Mr. Salisbury fills a niche by himself and fills it well; and the type of citizen which he represented shows, I fear, some signs of approaching extinction.

Mr. SAMUEL UTLEY said:—

It is a remarkable circumstance that three generations of the family of SALISBURY have lived within a few rods of the spot where the family started in Worcester one hundred and thirty-eight years ago. It is also remarkable that our late President was surrounded by so many men of mark in this community, who have known him so intimately for so long a time that neither could tell when the acquaintance began. Compared with these gentlemen my acquaintance of forty-one years may well be deemed short, and though not intimate it has been of increasing friendliness, which our relations in church and in this Society have greatly fostered.

It is hardly to be supposed that anything new can now be said concerning his life and work, but it seems fitting that this Council which has been a witness of so much of his constant and conscientious effort and this Society which has been the object of this effort in his life-time and of his great benefaction at his death, should place on record their appreciation of what he has been for it, as well as for the community in which he lived.

To call the roll of the public charities and institutions of the City of Worcester, is to give but a partial and incomplete list of his beneficiaries; for it is but the simple truth that for many years nothing has asked aid of any considerable circle without having Mr. Salisbury in the list of contributors. This has been done so quietly and so unostentatiously that though in a general way, known and noted, still I doubt if it was fully appreciated until it was so suddenly ended.

What has not been and now never can be fully known is the extent, variety and amount of his private gifts and the aid, material and otherwise, rendered to persons and their affairs. With hardly more than one exception his larger public gifts in his life-time have been to institutions that were organized by others, and this was done on the well thought out plan of stimulating contributions from the general public; but when it came to his will it was quite natural and logical that his attention should be centered on the Art Museum, which he had founded with great liberality and whose future he might well prefer to assure instead of giving largely and widely to causes, however worthy, which he might feel appealed to a constituency sufficiently extended to make their future secure.

Probably few appreciated at how many points he touched affairs of public interest, or how important a factor he had become in the life of the city, which can well be tested by observing how many people who were interested in a special cause have found Mr. Salisbury's attitude towards it, such that they inferred that their particular cause was the one nearest his heart.

Without doubt Mr. Salisbury would have been surprised could he have known of the deep and wide-spread sorrow at his sickness and death, a feeling to which our life and character gives no opportunity for expression, and which his modest estimate of himself did not allow him to suspect.

There will be great and universal satisfaction when it is known that it may now be hoped that the treasures of this Society will soon be safely housed, and so arranged as to be readily accessible to all. The people of Worcester can also feel that their present excellent Art Museum will soon be extended and perfected until it will take a high rank throughout the country.

I call attention to these particularly, because it has often been noted that in Worcester the material aspect in life has been much in evidence, for it thus appears that other matters have received and will continue to receive their proper share of attention; and when we consider the number, variety and character of the institutions of learning situated here, it seems clear that many things that make for the highest good of the people are also giving their proper contribution to the development of the city.

By reason of his great industry and executive capacity Mr. Salisbury was able to do many things and thus gave not only of his means but also gave himself, to a degree extremely unusual, and came to occupy a position entirely unique in the community in which he lived, and which will long remain unfilled.

It has been a great good fortune to the city to have had for so long a time a conspicuous example of safe, sound, conservative living, free from ostentation or extravagance. This good fortune is made apparent when we consider the effect which the opposite course of life would have had not only in fostering a like course in the whole community, but also in thus expending his large income in passing splendor, instead of its being conserved for the public use as it has been.

A noticeable trait in Mr. Salisbury's character was his extreme deference to the opinions of others and his willingness to aid while he plainly preferred some other cause or some other way. With this went an ardent desire that others should receive their full share of notice and be treated with the kindest attention. Accordingly there never was any question of whether he could or would work with any person or for any meritorious cause.

A TRIBUTE FROM YUCATAN

MERIDA, November 23, 1905.

LYMAN A. ELY, Esq., Worcester, Mass.,

Dear Sir:—

When the sad news of Mr. Salisbury's death reached his friends in Yucatan there was a spontaneous, almost universal desire to put in some concrete form the expression of their sorrow and to transmit to the different societies and institutions of learning of which he was a most conspicuous member, and to his Worcester friends at large, their expression of a mutual loss.

Under the impulse of this desire these friends held an informal meeting at the home of David Casares, the deceased's oldest and most intimate friend in Yucatan, and there were written the heartfelt lines above the signatures.

It is the earnest desire of these friends that you transmit to such societies and institutions and such friends as you deem fit, and as your intimate knowledge of Mr. Salisbury's ideas calls you to do, a copy of the resolutions enclosed, headed by the signature of Señor Olegario Molina, Governor of the State.

In deepest sorrow we sign ourselves,

Your true and sincere friends,

DAVID CASARES,
EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

The resolutions are as follows:—

The numerous friends that the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY had in Yucatan have been afflicted by deep sorrow on learning the sad news brought them by telegraph of his having passed away in Worcester, Massachusetts, his home, on the 16th inst. after a short sickness. The profound grief we have felt has not been only caused by the feelings of piety innate in the human heart toward those that have left the paths of life forever. Mr. SALISBURY had made himself worthy of and won our personal affection and gratefulness as children of this dear strip of land where most of us had the blessed lot of seeing the first light, and some one of us has been as one of them. These regards, this affection and these feelings of unalloyed gratefulness have sprung in our hearts as naturally as the seed germinates under the soil warmed by the sun; for he had nourished them in our minds by the great concern he had for everything that had any connection with this country, its history, its social, moral and intellectual development, its material progress and improvements.

He showed always great respect for all those that worked with good faith for the prosperity of the country, and above all for those who spend their life energies in the diffusion of knowledge among their fellow citizens, and for public benefactors. He had marked liking for our literature, and there was not a work on the history, geography and statistics of our Peninsula that came to his knowledge that he did not acquire for his library or for those of the societies and corporations he patronized. But the chief title and tie he had on our affections was the hearty sympathy he felt for our habits, customs, peculiar social being, and our popular ways.

Compelled by these motives we consider it a sacred duty to get together and take appropriate resolutions as an humble homage of respect and gratefulness to the memory of the eminent philanthropist, the distinguished citizen and the great friend of Yucatan; and to that effect, we, the friends of the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY in this country, presided over by one whom he honored with an unbroken friendship for more than half a century, unanimously agreed to send to his mourners, and to the scientific and beneficent societies and boards of education of which he

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Salisbury Memorial.

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was a most conspicuous member, the following words of condolence:

With the shock of a great surprise and deep sorrow, we learn of the death of the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Under the influence of this sorrow, and with the memory of his great kindness, his words of wisdom and cheer to all, indelibly impressed upon us, we the undersigned, have met together for mutual condolence, and to send to the distant friends in whose midst he lived and passed away, our grief and heartfelt sympathy.

SENOR OLEGARIO MOLINA,
and others.

MERIDA, YUCATAN, Nov. 1905.

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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 24, 1906, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 A. M., Rev. EDWARD
EVERETT HALE, Senior Vice-President, in the chair.

Members present in order of their seniority of membership:

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green,
Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall,
Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter,
Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis,
Solomon Lincoln, Frederic W. Putnam, Daniel Merriman,
William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, George
E. Francis, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Charles
P. Bowditch, Francis H. Dewey, Carroll D. Wright, Henry
A. Marsh, John Green, Wm. DeLoss Love, William T.
Forbes, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes, Waldo
Lincoln, Edward S. Morse, George P. Winship, A. Lawrence
Rotch, Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, E. Harlow Russell,
Benjamin T. Hill, Edmund A. Engler, Alexander F. Cham-
berlain, William MacDonald, Alexander H. Vinton, Deloraine
P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham.

Opening remarks of Dr. HALE:

The unexpected death of our President, honored and
beloved, makes our meeting to-day a sad one. A year ago
when the American Antiquarian Society met, every one of
us hoped—may I not say all of us expected—that for many

years the Society would enjoy the great benefit of his counsel and achievement in our behalf.

His death makes it necessary that I should preside to-day, until the Society makes the choice of his successor, as directed by its constitution. But you must not expect any such review of the year which has passed since our last anniversary as he would have been so glad to make. It would be simply mock modesty if I did not name among the important contributions to American history which the year has brought to light, the instructive and invaluable papers printed in our Proceedings.

The year has seen the completion of Mr. Rhodes's *History of the Rebellion*,¹ which will be the standard history of that great crisis. In his magnificent edition of Jacques Cartier's voyages, our distinguished associate, Mr. Baxter, the President of the Maine Historical Society, has presented to the world the original documents as to the discovery of the St. Lawrence, Labrador and Canada, in a form which commands admiration.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford has prepared for the Library of Congress the interesting and valuable *Journal of the Continental Congress*, from its meeting, Sept. 5, 1774, until its dissolution. A remark of Charles Thomson, its secretary, had led superficial readers—men like myself, for instance—to suppose that this valuable record of years of crisis, and of the first importance, had been destroyed by him. But it proves that in that matter such readers were mistaken, as they are apt to be; and the publication of these six volumes by the Government gives to us now a very valuable addition to our knowledge of those times.

The Proceedings of the Governors of New Amsterdam are, perhaps, chiefly of a local interest, and to students in the City of New York they have been accessible before now. But the reprint, in an elegant form by the Burrows Brothers Company of Cleveland, this year, enables students of history everywhere to consult these records.

The second centennial of Franklin's birth was fitly celebrated by the American Philosophical Society, by a distinguished assembly of scholars from all parts of America. The American Antiquarian Society was represented by Andrew McFarland Davis of the Council.

¹"History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Restoration of Home Rule in the South, 1877."

The most remarkable event of the year in discovery was the passage through Behring Strait southward, Aug. 6th, of the Norwegian sloop *Gjøa*, under the command of Capt. Roald Amundsen. He is the first navigator who has brought his vessel through the Arctic ocean in our hemisphere.

Capt. Amundsen's great success was won when he brought his little ship through the water, while his predecessors had been blocked by ice. In token of the courage and perseverance which have achieved this great voyage, the Council proposes the name of Capt. Amundsen as a candidate for foreign membership of the Antiquarian Society. It was in this way that our Society recognized the achievement of Capt. Robert McClure, whom the Queen afterward knighted in token of his success.

The suggestion was made at the Annual Meeting more than half a century ago, that every year the Antiquarian Society should provide for the issue of a gold medal, which should commemorate in its design and inscription the greatest event in American history in that year.

If in 1493 such a medal had been struck by Ferdinand and Isabella, or by the University of Salamanca, would it or would it not have signalized the arrival of a fishing boat, called the *Nina*, at the Port of Palos, announcing the discovery of two or three islands in the West Indies?

The Society has never found it desirable to issue such a medal, conscious perhaps, always, of a certain difficulty in our seeing the world as the future will see it.

Thus the year 1795 struck no medal to announce Eli Whitney's cotton gin, and 1807 struck no medal to announce Fulton's first voyage up the Hudson River in the *Clermont*. In the last summer, since I have known that I must preside at this Anniversary, I have begged one and another of our friends, distinguished in their knowledge of history and of events, to tell me which is the greatest event which has transpired since October 24, 1905.

One of them said in reply, "It is hard to write a name in water; while the tide of history is on the flow, I cannot write it as I shall be able to write it on the wet sands of the beach afterward."

I offer the subject as one for conversation, if time permits, to-day. I will merely remark that each of my advisers gave a different answer. The first said that the active

interference of the federal government in the direction of interstate commerce marks an era of the very first importance in American history. The second said that the Pan-American Congress at Rio and Mr. Root's really triumphant tour in South America marked the beginning of American diplomacy, in which the whole continent, North and South unites in supporting the Monroe Doctrine, which before was nursed somewhat wearily by the United States alone. A third adviser regards Capt. Amundsen's great adventure as one of those physical facts which can be measured by the clock and put on paper, and so is the most fit subject for conversation. A fourth counsellor regards it as an event of the first importance, even in America, that the Chinese empire has this year thrown off all pretences of the exclusion, of inferiority of foreigners, and has committed itself seriously to the civilization and diplomacy of the rest of the world. A fifth, speaking for the United States particularly, says the year, 1906, will always be especially known in history as the year when the divine conscience of the people of America laid down new standards and higher ideals for what is called the business world in the management of its daily affairs.

Fortunately it is not for the acting president of this Society to weigh against each other such variable opinions of such distinguished men, but it is a pleasure to throw them into the urn of our conversation to-day. It may be possible as Virgil says,¹ when he speaks of the various elements in compounding a salad, to make "E pluribus unum."

The report of the Council, by SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A. M., and Dr. EDMUND A. ENGLER was read by Mr. GREEN.

The Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS explained the amendment to the By-laws offered by the Council, and on his motion it was adopted as follows:—

ARTICLE XVI.—The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held every year at the Library Building of the Society in Worcester, on the third Wednesday of October; the Semi-annual Meeting shall be held in Boston every year, on the third Wednesday of April at such place as the Council shall designate. The hour of each meeting shall be 10.30 o'clock A. M., unless otherwise ordered by the Council.

Mr. WEEDEN: I would make a motion based on an item in the report. As you well know, our associate, Mr. Paine, has spent some time on the work of examining and taking care of the manuscripts, and I move that the plan of the Council in examining, classifying and cataloguing the manuscripts, should be approved.

The vote was passed.

Mr. A. McF. DAVIS, who was appointed by the Council to arrange with Mr. John G. Palfrey, the executor of the will of the late John C. Palfrey, the details concerning the printed sheets of the "Compendious History," reported that the property bequeathed to the Society had been transferred.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN then presented the antiquarian portion of the report of the Council; a paper on "Some of the Roman Remains in England," reading the part relating to the Roman city of Calleva Atrebatum, at Silchester, Hampshire.

Mr. CHASE: "I would like to ask Mr. Green if any of the remains described are visible?"

Mr. GREEN: "The whole site belongs to the present representatives of the family of the Duke of Wellington. The third Duke is now in possession. The city is let as part of a farm; and while the owner is very glad to have excavations made, arrangements have to be made with the farmer. When a foundation is uncovered, very careful measurements and plans are made, and then it is covered up and the ground cultivated again. Mr. Joyce, after he had made excavations in the forum left them uncovered. This led to disintegration. The best thing to do after securing measurements and plans is to cover the foundations up again. I understood that the famous villa at Woodchester is covered up, but occasionally uncovered for exhibition. At Caerwent many foundations are left exposed, as control is had of three-quarters of the land. But it is

intended, I was told, to cover the ruins later. Very minute accounts of excavations at Silchester and Caerwent may be found in *Archaeologia*: annual reports given there record new discoveries. Only foundations are found, but superstructures can be mentally reconstructed by examination of these and *débris*."

MR. HUNNEWELL: "I want to thank Mr. Green for telling us so much about these excavations. I have had the pleasure of seeing some of them. It causes a thrilling sensation to see these Roman ruins in the simple, quiet English country. I am very glad to have Mr. Green's assurance that they are protecting the excavations. One of the most interesting exhibitions of antiquity in Britain is the piece of old wall at Uriconium."

DR. HALE: "You may be glad to know that in the last year the City of Dorchester has presented to our Dorchester a good bit of mosaic, which has properly been put in the public schools. Anybody who cares to take a twenty-minutes' ride out from Boston to see it will derive great satisfaction from it."

REV. EDWARD H. HALL, D. D.: "I have listened with the more interest to this valuable paper from having visited some spots which Mr. Green has not described in the portion of his paper read today, namely, fragments of the wall of Hadrian, so-called, where I stumbled upon a Roman station. You see great stretches of the wall there. I found the place quite as interesting as any Roman city; containing baths, etc., and among other objects, ovens, as was claimed, although Mr. Green states, I notice, that no ovens have been found in Roman ruins in England. The methods for heating were very interesting. The whole region of the Roman wall, stretching east to west, portions of which are still visible, gives one a deeper consciousness than anything else of the power and extent of the Roman domain. Here in the north, just as along the Nile, is the Roman Empire in its aggressive sway. Here it has left behind its best things."

The report of the Treasurer, NATHANIEL PAINE, A. M., was read and distributed in print.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON presented his report as Librarian.

The reports above mentioned were formally adopted as the report of the Council.

The Recording Secretary presented to the Society the names which the Council suggested for the filling of vacancies in domestic membership:

Franklin Pierce Rice of Worcester.

Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt of Worcester.

William Keeney Bixby of St. Louis, Mo.;

and for foreign membership:

Capt. Roald Amundsen of Christiania, Norway.

George Edward Fox, F. S. A., of London.

Prof. Bernardino Machado of Coimbra, Portugal.

All these gentlemen were duly elected on a printed ballot.

A committee appointed to collect ballots for President reported thirty-two votes, all of which were for EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

Dr. HALE: "I am greatly indebted and I thank you for the great honor which is conferred on me. I think I was the youngest member ever chosen into the Society, and my connection with the Society has been all pleasure. I have always found here the utmost courtesy and sympathy in the little historical work which I have undertaken. At this moment the magnificent bequest of Mr. Salisbury gives us new confidence in the physical arrangements of the Society, and ought to quicken us all in every effort. It is very satisfactory to see the honor with which the Society is regarded in all quarters. With the understanding that I have done my best not to be president, I accept the office with very great gratitude for the honor which is done me."

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, from a committee on nomination of the other officers, reported:—

Vice-Presidents:

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston, Mass.
WALDO LINCOLN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Council:

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A. M., of Worcester, Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, R. I.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, Litt.D., of Portland, Me.
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL. D., of Worcester, Mass.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL of Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D., of New Haven, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication:

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury, Mass.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE H. HAYNES, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.
FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE of Worcester, Mass.

Auditors:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

The foregoing list was duly elected by ballot duly taken.

Mr. A. McF. DAVIS moved that a committee composed of Waldo Lincoln, Prof. MacDonald and Prof. Jameson be appointed to examine certain suggestions made by Prof. Jameson as to subjects for future publications of the Society, and to report at an early day to the Council what they recommend for publication, and whether in their opinion the finances of the Society will permit such publication.

The motion was seconded and passed.

A paper by WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES of Washington, was read by Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS on "The Origin of the Symbol of the Cross."

Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH read a paper on the subject:— "Did Franklin Fly his Electric Kite Before He Invented the Lightning Rod?"

Dr. HALE said, "Mr. Rotch's curious paper tempts me to relate an experience of Franklin's which may have escaped the attention of some gentlemen present. I printed it in my collection of "Franklin's Letters in France." When Franklin went to France in 1776, he was almost at once asked by the artist, Nicholas Cochin, to sit for his portrait. Franklin seems to have always been willing to sit, and he complied. The portrait is one of the best and has often been reprinted. It was then engraved by Saint Aubin, and beneath it were the words,

C'est l' honneur et l'appui du nouvel hémisphère,
Les flots de l'Océan s' abaissent à sa voix;
Il réprime ou dirige à son gré le tonnerre.
Qui désarme les dieux, peut-il craindre les rois?

When the picture was finished it was sent to the censors with those words engraved on the plate. The censors, however, refused permission to publish the verses. They said they were blasphemous; and the portrait has always been published without them. But when a friend in

Philadelphia presented to me an admirable reprint of it, lately, made in that city, I had the pleasure of placing beneath the portrait the suppressed lines. I am fond of saying that I have the only Cochin portrait in the world which has the original title."

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, Esq., of Providence read a paper on "Ideal Newport in the Eighteenth Century."

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN: "I will take this occasion to mention a matter of some interest to Massachusetts men, and especially to persons who have made a study of early American bibliography. Within a short time there has been found in England a copy of the first edition of Massachusetts Laws. It has been known for 250 years that such a book was printed, and for 100 years certainly there has been a special effort made to find a copy either in this country or elsewhere; and within a very few months one has turned up in England. It has some interesting features connected with it. Very generally, it has been supposed, that this book was printed in 1649, as the early allusions to it are found in that year, but it turns out that the book itself bears the date of 1648. The year of its appearance is of no great importance, but it is of some interest to antiquaries. Last spring a gentleman in England, not a dealer, who lives in Cambridgeshire, found this pamphlet, —for that is what it really is,— bound in a volume of tracts. His curiosity was excited, and he took it to a library in Cambridge, and was told there that he had better write about it to some one in this country, which he did. After a few weeks of correspondence the first persons here who heard of it doubted its authenticity, as bibliographers had been so long on the watch for it. A photograph of the title-page was then sent, which proved conclusively that it was a specimen of the original edition. I was in New York a few weeks ago, during the present month, and I had it on my mind to go and see the book, as it is owned now by a gentleman in Brooklyn, New York. From the person in charge of his library I found that it had been sent across the ocean again in order to have it bound

very handsomely. I think myself it would be a pity to have it thus bound; still the owner didn't think so. It is a pamphlet of 68 pages, 34 leaves; and there is some reason to think that an additional leaf is gone—that there may have been a leaf at the end, perhaps containing a table of contents. The price reported as paid for the pamphlet is very large. I asked several persons in New York in regard to the sum, but no one seemed to know exactly how much.

"I expressed some fear as to the safety of sending this copy again across the water, as no insurance could cover its intrinsic value, but I was told that a careful type-written copy of it was made before it was sent over. Of course, the chances are it will not be lost, but will come back again.

"I mention the fact with some diffidence, as I think it is the intention of the owner, in his own way and at his own time, to give the facts to the public, but an account of it was given in "*The Nation*," July 5; and so I think no confidence is now violated. The discovery is of much interest not only to the scholars of Massachusetts but to the legal profession generally, as well as to persons who have made a study of early American bibliography."

Mr. COREY: "It is very interesting to me, as I had occasion a few years ago to look it up, after certain statements had been made. It is pleasant to think that in my *History of Malden*, published in 1889, I had the honor to state that the date was 1648, because the records of the General Court showed that the book was in print during that session, although it was not distributed until 1649."

Mr. A. McF. DAVIS: "I am very glad indeed that mention has been made of the discovery of the 1648 edition of the Laws of Massachusetts. It would indeed have been unfortunate, if at a meeting—so soon after this interesting event—of the Society founded by Isaiah Thomas, who took so much interest in the bibliography of the Colony, and with which the name of Samuel Foster Haven, who also made a special study of this topic, was for so long a

period associated, this important discovery should have been passed over in silence. It is eighteen years since I myself contributed to this Society a paper in which the date of the publication of this volume was one of the topics under discussion. A box of papers, many of which related to suits at law in which Dunster, the first President of Harvard College, was interested, had then recently come into the hands of our late associate, Justin Winsor, at that time Librarian of Harvard College. Among them was one on which memoranda had been made as to the cost of the paper, the expense of the composition, etc., of several of the publications of the Cambridge press, of which this volume was one. Mr. Whitmore was then running through the press his facsimile reprints of the 1660 and 1672 editions of the Laws. Mr. Charles Deane, then a member of our Publication Committee, wrote me asking if I objected to his furnishing Mr. Whitmore with a copy of the proof of my paper. Of course I was glad of an opportunity to associate my name with the intelligent and discriminating investigation with which Mr. Whitmore has prefaced these publications. The evidence of the printing in 1648 he accepted, but his conclusion was that the publication must have been early in 1649. The number of reams of paper mentioned in the memorandum as used in printing the laws, furnishes an index to the probable number of pages in the volume. It would seem as if this copy must be one leaf short, and as it has no alphabetical table at the end like those in the 1660 and 1672 editions, reviewers have conjectured that this leaf must have contained the alphabetical table."

The following (type-written) letter, received by Vice-President Hale, was presented:—

TO THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
Worcester, Mass.

Gentlemen:—

I have been asked to give an account of what my expedition on board of the "Gjøa" (pronounced You-ah, the first syllable to sound like the you in young) has accomplished.

I hope that when we obtain the results of the calculations made from a great number of very exact observations taken on the spot in and

around the vicinity of the magnetic North Pole, and continued for an unbroken period of nearly two years, it will aid in determining the exact location of the Pole itself. These calculations may require three years or more, and it is at present impossible for me to elaborate upon the final results of the scientific work of the expedition.

We met with many Esquimaux, in fact found them along the entire route followed. Some of these had never seen a white man before, and I bring back with me a large collection of their articles such as have never before reached civilization. We stayed amongst some of them for a long period, and therefore had an excellent opportunity of studying their habits and character, as well as their language, and it all proved exceedingly interesting.

I also gathered a large collection of the flora and fauna of these regions, which when mounted and classified undoubtedly will prove of great interest to science.

On the 1st of June, 1831, the English Admiral, Sir James Clark Ross reached with a sledge-expedition a place on the west coast of Boothia Felix (located about 70° n. lat., 96° w. long.), where the magnetic dip-circle indicated a dip of 90° . He returned and announced to the world the location of the magnetic North Pole. Many years passed, and the results reached by the intrepid English Admiral seemed to satisfy the scientific world.

Occasionally a voice was raised for the relocation of the magnetic pole, but nothing was done until during the last ten years of the past century the development of magnetic observation instruments had reached such perfection that the question of the relocation of the pole became acute. It did not seem satisfactory to continue much longer to reckon on the basis of the discovery made by Ross in 1831, necessarily made with inferior instruments. At this stage my attention was directed towards the question and I conferred with Professor Georg Von Neumayer, Germany's greatest authority as regards magnetic knowledge. I was assured by him that it was a matter of the highest importance to the magnetic science to have more precise observations made as to the actual location of the magnetic North Pole, and I made up my mind to undertake the "Gjøa" Expedition.

The Expedition left Kristiania on June 16th., 1903, carrying amongst many other articles the most complete outfit of magnetic instruments that could be found. My primary object was that of relocating the magnetic North Pole, but I had also decided to attempt to sail in its entirety the Northwest-Passage, an undertaking which for centuries had baffled the attempts made by different Nations, and still remained unaccomplished. I presented my plan to the Norwegian Geographical Society at Kristiania on November 25th, 1902, and displayed a map of the polar regions upon which my intended route was traced. I find that when at some future date I shall make public the actual route followed by the "Gjøa", the same map will suffice; in other words the vessel followed the exact route which I laid out for her in advance.

On the 30th., of August, 1906, the "Gjøa" passed southward through Behring Strait carrying the Norwegian flag at the masthead.

ROALD AMUNDSEN.

[Signature type-written.]

THE RECORDING SECRETARY: "Reference has been made to the Vital Statistics of Massachusetts. Obtaining, a while ago, the statistics of the town of Leicester, I looked to find, what I always knew but wanted to see in print, the time of marriage of my father and mother, but could find no reference to it. Then I looked for similar information concerning my mother's sisters and cousins and aunts, who were very numerous. Not one appeared, although the work aimed to give a list of the marriages in Leicester. The reason of the omission is that they all belonged to the Society of Friends. The Friends have their own custom of marriage, which is recognized by the law of the State. It is under the control of the church; and it is always a matter of church record. The same state of things must exist among Professor Morse's neighbors in Lynn and Salem,—in fact, all the people of Friends' origin, especially in the counties of Worcester, Essex, Bristol and Norfolk, where they were numerous. But, twenty-five or fifty years from now, there may be no Society of Friends, and it is a question where the church records will be. It is very essential that the work of examining and gleaning from those records which should have been done at the outset, should be done at once by the State. It is a little late now, but it certainly is something that the Massachusetts Commission should look into. Some of the gentlemen present may have influence in the matter."

Mr. S. S. GREEN: "Mr. Corey and I are both members of that Commission, and will bring the matter up. By the laws of the State, when a religious society goes out of existence, the records of that Society are deposited with the town officers, or the city officers. That is the law; of course it might fail."

Mr. UTLEY: "We have a communication here in regard to our late President, STEPHEN SALISBURY. It is too late for it to be read now, but I offer the following vote:

"VOTED: That the thanks of the American Antiquarian Society be extended to our esteemed associate, Mr. David Casares for his touching tribute to our late President, Stephen Salisbury, which has been received at this meeting and which will be preserved as an indication of his warm interest in this Society; and that the Secretary be directed to send a copy of this vote to Mr. Casares."

Carried unanimously.

On motion of Rev. Dr. HALL the several papers presented today were referred to the Committee of Publication.

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

[The members of the Society were entertained at luncheon by the Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS at his residence on Elm street.]

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

At a meeting of the Council held in September, Samuel S. Green and Edmund A. Engler were chosen a committee to examine the Library and prepare the report of the Council. At the same meeting a committee of three members of the Council, which had been appointed to arrange for the past and the present meetings of the Society and to present the names of suitable persons to fill the vacancies existing in the board of officers of the Society, reported and laid before the Council a paper which was with its approval, to be presented to the Society for its consideration at the present meeting.

Besides the vacancy in the office of President caused by the death of Mr. Salisbury, it has become necessary to fill the office of Secretary on account of the resignation of Mr. Charles A. Chase and to provide for vacancies in the Committee of Publication made by the resignations of Mr. Chase and Mr. C. C. Smith. It was with great regret that these resignations were received. Mr. Chase has served as Secretary for 12 years, having been chosen Recording Secretary, October 24, 1894. He has served on the Committee of Publication for more than 24 years, and his services there have been of exceptional value. Mr. Smith was elected a member of the Committee, just 16 years ago, at the meeting of the Society held October 21, 1890. His services also have been of great benefit to the Society.

Mr. Chase also withdrew from the Finance Committee. That Committee is appointed by the Council, and to fill the vacancies caused by the death of Mr. Salisbury and the resignation of Mr. Chase, it is intended to appoint Mr. Waldo Lincoln and Mr. Francis H. Dewey members of the Committee.

Mr. Lincoln had previously been placed by the Council on the Library Committee to take the place of our late President.

The Council congratulates the Society that notwithstanding the great losses which it met in the deaths of Mr. Hoar and Mr. Salisbury, other members have cheerfully taken up their burden and the future prosperity of the Society seems to be fully assured.

It is with pleasure that the announcement is made that no member of the Society has died since our last meeting. The annual reports of the Treasurer and Librarian are presented as a part of the report of the Council, and attention is called to them.

One of the most important acts of the Council since the last meeting of the Society has been the adoption of a resolution to recommend to the Society to amend its By-laws by changing the dates for holding the annual and semi-annual meetings. It proposes to the Society to amend Article XVI. of the By-laws adopted October, 21 1881, by striking out the words "on the 21st day of October, and when the same falls on Sunday or Monday, the meeting shall be on a day to be fixed by the Council" and the word "last" and inserting after the words "on the" the words "third Wednesday of October." In place of the word "last" insert "third" and add to the article a provision regarding the hour of meeting so as to make Article XVI. read: "The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held every year at the Library Building of the Society, in Worcester, on the third Wednesday of October; the Semi-Annual Meeting shall be held in Boston every year on the third Wednesday of April, at such place as the Council shall designate. The hour of each meeting shall be 10.30 o'clock A. M. unless otherwise ordered by the Council."

It is the intention of the Council to revise its rules and those of the Library Committee and soon print them with a list of the present members of the Society.

It will be remembered that it was stated, in the last report of the Council, to be desirable that the collection of manu-

scripts owned by the Society should be carefully examined, classified and catalogued. Some rough plan of classification was used at an earlier date in the history of the Society, but a new one as well as a catalogue is much needed. The Council proposes to proceed with this work, spending such an amount of money in doing it as may be needed, if the Society expresses its approval.

At a meeting of the Council held Sept. 25, 1906, a communication was received from the executors of the will of the late John C. Palfrey, accompanied by an assignment to the Society of the copyright of "A Compendious History of New England," by our late associate, John Gorham Palfrey and a bill-of-sale of the plates of that work.

Judge Utley offered the following votes which were passed unanimously:

"*Voted*, that the Council of the American Antiquarian Society extends its thanks to the family of the late John C. Palfrey for the bequest to the Society in the will of Mr. Palfrey, of the copyright and plates of "A Compendious History of New England" by the late John Gorham Palfrey, and that the Secretary be directed to send a copy of this Vote to the family.

"*Voted*, that Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis be authorized to adjust with Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., the matter of the bookplates of "A Compendious History of New England" by the late John Gorham Palfrey, and also to make with the executors of the late John C. Palfrey such arrangements as he deems advisable about the volumes of said history owned by the estate of John C. Palfrey, including the power to give the consent of the American Antiquarian Society to the sale at any time of said volumes."

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN,

EDMUND A. ENGLER.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 10, 1906.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 10, 1906, was \$158,523.51. It is divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$35,244.51
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	16,763.56
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	7,876.82
The Publishing Fund,.....	31,420.60
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,..	14,655.64
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	6,977.88
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,...	1,066.61
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,311.07
The Alden Fund,.....	1,000.00
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,541.55
The George Chandler Fund,.....	421.07
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	4,707.11
The George E. Ellis Fund,.....	17,061.34
The John and Eliza Davis Fund,.....	3,765.02
The Life Membership Fund,.....	2,450.00
The Salisbury Mansion Fund,.....	115.80
	<hr/>
	\$155,378.58
Income Account,.....	2,395.92
Premium Account,.....	749.01
	<hr/>
	\$158,523.51

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$1,889.84.

A new fund has been established since the last report of the Treasurer, called the Salisbury Mansion Fund. The real estate bequeathed to the Society by our late President has come into our possession and the rents are now payable to the Society.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year is as follows:

DR.

1905. Oct. 10.	Balance of cash as per last report,	\$7,196.35
1906. " 10.	Income from investments to date,	9,149.02
" "	For life membership,.....	50.00
" "	For annual assessments,.....	195.00
" "	Sale of publications,.....	96.25
" "	Premium on securities sold,.....	3,454.21
" "	Notes and securities paid or sold,	25,500.00
" "	Rent Salisbury Mansion,.....	857.16

\$46,497.99

CR.

By salaries to October 10, 1906,.....	\$4,362.19
Publication of Proceedings, etc.,.....	2,077.60
Books purchased,.....	807.54
For binding,.....	219.50
For lighting and telephone,.....	121.49
Invested in stocks and bonds,.....	34,200.00
Premium on stocks and bonds,.....	1,150.68
Insurance,.....	46.82
Repairs on buildings,.....	327.98
Rent of Newspaper room,.....	150.00
Incidental Expenses,.....	402.99
Account of Salisbury Mansion including taxes,	741.36

44,608.15

Balance of cash October 10, 1906,..... 1,889.84

\$46,497.99

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 10, 1905.....	\$37,272.39
Income to October 10, 1906,.....	1,863.60
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	250.00
" " Alden Fund,.....	50.00
From Life Membership Fund,.....	120.00

\$39,555.99

Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,..... 4,311.48

Balance, October 10, 1905,.....

\$35,244.51

1906.]

Report of the Treasurer.

21

Brought forward, . . . \$35,244.51

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$16,719.34
Income to October 10, 1906, 835.95

\$17,555.29

Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and
incidentals,..... 791.73

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$16,763.56

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$7,710.77
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 385.55

\$8,096.32

Paid for binding, etc.,..... 219.50

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$7,876.82

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$31,811.40
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 1,686.80

\$33,498.20

Paid on account of publications,..... 2,077.60

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$31,420.60

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 7, 1905,..... \$14,048.26
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 711.00

\$14,759.26

Paid for books purchased,..... 103.62

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$14,655.64

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$6,645.60
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 332.28

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$6,977.88

Carried forward,..... \$112,939.01

Brought forward, . . . \$112,939.01

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$1,130.98
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 56.55

\$1,187.53

Paid for local histories,..... 120.92

Balance October 10, 1906..... \$1,066.61

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$5,370.55
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 268.50

\$5,139.05

Paid for repairs, etc.,..... 327.98

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$5,311.07

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$1,000.00
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 50.00

\$1,050.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,... 50.00

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$1,000.00

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$5,000.00
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 250.00

\$5,250.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,... 250.00

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,..... \$1,615.40
Income to October 10, 1906,..... 80.75

\$1,696.15

Paid for books,..... 154.60

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$1,541.55

Carried forward... \$126,858.24

1906.]

Report of the Treasurer.

23

Brought forward, . . . \$126,858.24

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,.....	\$456.44	
Income to October 10, 1906,.....	42.80	
	<hr/>	
	\$499.24	
Paid for books,.....	78.17	
Balance October 10, 1906,.....		\$421.07

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,.....	\$4,538.97	
Income to October 10, 1906,.....	226.95	
	<hr/>	
	\$4,765.92	
Paid for books,.....	58.81	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1906,.....		\$4,707.11

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 10, 1905,.....	\$16,437.99	
Income to October 10, 1906,.....	821.90	
	<hr/>	
	\$17,259.89	
Paid for books,.....	198.55	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1906,.....		\$17,061.34

The John and Elisa Davis Fund.

Amount of Fund, October, 10, 1905,.....	\$3,631.62	
Income to October 10, 1906,.....	181.55	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,813.17	
Paid for books,.....	48.15	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1906,.....		\$3,765.02

The Life Membership Fund.

Balance October 7, 1905,.....	\$2,400.00	
Income to October 10, 1906,.....	120.00	
Life Membership,.....	50.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$2,570.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,..	120.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1906,.....		\$2,450.00

The Salisbury Mansion Fund.

Rent to October 10, 1906,.....	857.16	
Paid taxes and expenses.....	741.36	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1905,.....		115.80
	<hr/>	
Total of the seventeen funds,.....		\$155,378.58
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....		2,395.92
" " " " Premium Account,...		749.01
	<hr/>	
October 10, 1906, total,.....		\$158,523.51

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
Fitchburg National Bank.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 900.00
Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston,...	3,200.00	3,200.00	4,600.00
Old Boston National Bank.....	300.00	300.00	320.00
Wells & Atlas Nat. Bank, Boston...	1,800.00	1,600.00	2,530.00
Worcester National Bank.....	1,600.00	1,600.00	3,200.00
Worcester Trust Co.,	300.00	300.00	675.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co. Stock,	5,000.00	5,000.00	6,750.00
Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co. Stock..	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,900.00
Worcester Gas Light Co.,	900.00	800.00	1,900.00
West End St. Ry. Co. (M'd)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,300.00
N. Y. N. Haven & Hart R. R.,	5,000.00	5,500.00	10,615.00
Boston Tow. Boat Co.,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,350.00
Boston & Phila. Steamship Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,600.00
Atchafson Top & Santa Fe R.R.,	700.00	1,100.00	550.00
Mass. Gas Light Co.,	2,900.00	3,500.00	3,045.00
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.,	3,000.00	2,000.00	2,300.00
Old South Building Trust,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Union Pacific R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	5,430.00
	<hr/> 39,550.00	<hr/> \$35,750.00	<hr/> \$54,165.00

BONDS.

Atchafson Top. & Santa Fe R. R. Co.			
Gen. Mortgage 4 per cent.	\$1,540.00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
Adjustable 4 per cent.	885.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Kan. City Ft. Sc. & G. R. R. 7 p. c.	3,300.00	3,300.00	3,597.00
Chicago & East. Ill. R. R. 5 per cent.	11,000.00	11,000.00	11,400.00
City of Quincy Water Bonds 4 p. c.	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,540.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Low., Lav. & Hav. St. Ry. Co. 5 per cent.	7,520.00	8,000.00	9,118.00
Worce. & Mari. St. Ry. Co. 5 per cent.	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,000.00
Wilkes-Barre East. R. R. Co. 5 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,180.00
Elliot Square Co., Buffalo 5 per cent.	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,275.00
Worce. & Web. St. Ry. Co. 5 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co. 4 per cent.	7,000.00	7,000.00	8,835.00
Crompton & Knowles Loom Works,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,200.00
Chicago, Cant. & Louis. R. R. 4½ per cent.	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,000.00
	<hr/> 927,895.00	<hr/> \$26,050.00	<hr/> \$115,895.00

Carried forward..

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
Fitchburg National Bank,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 900.00
Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston,...	3,200.00	3,200.00	4,600.00
Old Boston National Bank.....	300.00	300 00	320.00
Webb & Atlas Nat. Bank, Boston,..	1,800.00	1,800.00	2,530.00
Worcester National Bank,.....	1,600.00	1,600.00	3,200.00
Worcester Trust Co.,.....	300 00	300.00	675.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	6,750.00
Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co., Stock,.	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,900.00
Worcester Gas Light Co., " "	900.00	800.00	1,900.00
West End St. Ry. Co. (Pfd.) " "	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,300.00
N. Y. N. Haven & Hart. R. R., " "	8,000.00	5,500.00	10,615.00
Boston Tow Boat Co., " " " "	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,350.00
Boston & Phila. Steamship Co., " "	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,600.00
Atchison, Top. & Santa Fé R.R., " "	700.00	1,100.00	850.00
Mass. Gas Light Co. " "	2,900.00	3,500.00	3,045.00
Am Telephone & Telegraph Co., " "	3,000.00	2,000.00	2,300.00
Old South Building Trust,.... " "	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Union Pacific R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	5,430.00
	<hr/> 39,550.00	<hr/> \$36,750.00	<hr/> \$54,165.00

BONDS.

Atchison, Topo. & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,			
Gen. Mortgage, 4 per cent,...	\$1,540.00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
Adjustable, 4 per cent.,.....	885.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Kan. City, Ft. Sc. & Gulf R. R. 7 p. c.	3,300.00	3,300.00	3,597.00
Chicago & East. Ill. R. R. 5 per cent.,	10,000.00	10,000.00	11,400.00
City of Quincy Water Bonds, 4 p. c.	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,040.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Low., Law. & Hav St. Ry Co., 5 per ct.	7,620.00	8,000.00	9,118.00
Worc. & Marl. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,000.00
WilkesBarre & East. R. R. Co., 5 per ct.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,130.00
Elliot Square Co., Buffalo, 5 per ct.	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,250.00
Worc. & Web. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co., 4 per cent.	7,000.00	7,000.00	6,895.00
Crompton & Knowles Loom Works,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,200.00
Chicago, Cint. & Louis. R. R. 4½ per ct.	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,000.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried forward,.....	\$97,895.00	\$96,050.00	\$116,895.00

1906.]

Report of the Treasurer.

25

<i>Brought forward</i> ,.....	\$97,895.00	\$96,050.00	\$116,895.00
Hoosier Equipment Co. , 5 per cent.	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
Père Marquette R. R. Co. , 4 per cent.	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Southern Indiana R. R. Co. ,.....	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
Lake Shore, Mich. So. R. R. Co. 4 p. c.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R.R. , 3½ p. c.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R. , 4 p. c.	10,000.00	10,450.00	10,450.00
Boston Elevated R. R. Co. , 4 p. c. . .	2,000.00	2,080.00	2,080.00
West End St. Ry. Co. , 4 per cent. . .	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Illinois Central R. R. , 3½ per cent. .	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
Lynn & Boston Ry. Co. , 5 per cent.	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
C., Burlington & Quincy R.R. , 4 p. c.	5,000.00	5,100.00	5,100.00
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co. , 5 p. c.	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,030.00
Town of Ware ,.....	1,300.00	1,300.00	1,300.00
City of Brockton , 4 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$138,195.00	\$136,990.00	\$157,955.00
Notes secured by mort. of real estate,	18,400.00	18,400.00	18,400.00
Deposited in Worcester savings bank	38.67	38.67	38.67
Cash in National Bank on interest, . .	1,889.84	1,889.84	1,889.84
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$158,523.51	\$157,308.51	\$178,283.51

WORCESTER, MASS., October 10, 1906.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 10, 1906, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

A. G. BULLOCK,

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL.

October 19, 1906.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

On November 7, 1905, was begun the transfer to our new store-room in Summer street of about fifteen hundred bound volumes of seldom-used newspapers. This step has given relief in our newspaper hall, which relief can only be prolonged in our present quarters by a very marked reduction of the number of files which we have hitherto bound for posterity. The problem is a difficult one, but it is clearly our present duty to strengthen our eighteenth and early nineteenth century collection, for which purpose a special fund would seem desirable.

The purchase of a new case for our card catalogue room has given us temporary relief in this important department. Here as elsewhere in the library, space is one of the essentials which must always be taken into account if the best results are to be secured.

The last "Roll of Membership of the American Antiquarian Society with a List of Officers" was issued in June, 1901, since which time we have lost by death twenty-three resident and thirteen foreign members, and by resignation two resident members. Five officers have died during the same period. I would suggest the publication of a new Roll with the Proceedings of this meeting together with the By-Laws as amended, and the Rules and Regulations of the Library as changed.

"Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County, Massachusetts," has been largely prepared in this library, whereby some of its weak and some of its strong points have been indicated. Without the income from the George E. Ellis fund, few of the important gaps discovered could have been filled.

In this connection the need of a much larger local history fund has been strongly emphasized.

On account of our national name and character, we have been called upon by the history commissions and by the new and by revived State Historical Societies, for material relating to the various states. Advice has also been sought by clubs formed to encourage an interest in the history of city, town or village; such societies, in general, wisely taking the local name as a constant reminder to follow Agassiz's counsel to the early natural history societies, to "Work your own field carefully." Among the minor duties of the firmly established Carnegie Institution will be the answering of such appeals by experts.

The Carnegie Institution has generously arranged for the completion of Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America," under the continued direction of our associate, Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library. Our aid was sought early in the year 1866, and has ever since been freely given. The original prospectus was dated, December 5, 1866, and "Part I., A to Allen" bears the imprint "New York 1867. Price \$2.50." The imprint of the last issue, "Parts CXV.-CXVI., Simms-Smith" is "New York, 1892, Price \$5.00"—This monumental work which was received as published, for service rendered, has been a mine of information both for the Society and for the scholars whom it has been its pleasure to serve.

Recognizing the national and international character of our Society, the Library Committee has from time to time approved gifts foreign and domestic from our collection of duplicates. The larger recipients since the librarian's last report have been Fairmount College, Wichita Kansas; and the National Soldiers' Home, Johnson City, Tennessee; to the former were sent miscellaneous literature, and to the latter illustrated periodicals.

For many years Antiquarian Hall has been the meeting-place for the corporation of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute and the depository for its valuable records. On January 20, 1906, a transfer was made to the office of the President elect, the Hon. Charles G. Washburn of the

Class of 1875. On December 6, 1884 our Council "Voted: That the Trustees of the Worcester Free Institute be authorized to hold meetings at the hall of the Society . . . also that they may be allowed to deposit their records at the hall."

Our Society has taken action with reference to the purchase of the Benjamin F. Stevens Index of Revolutionary Archives. I submit a few paragraphs from a London letter relating thereto, received by your librarian from one of the Society's American patrons.

I have been more than interested in seeing the wonderful index of Revolutionary archives prepared by Mr. B. F. Stevens and described so fully at the end of Mr. Fenn's "Life of Stevens." The many magnificent volumes are located in a bookcase in Stevens and Brown's office. Mr. Brown tells me that he is once more making efforts to sell it to the United States Government to be deposited in the Library of Congress. That is surely where it ought to be, as it is a work of reference absolutely invaluable to the historical student of the period just before and during the Revolution—a task that Mr. Stevens did *once for all*. It almost frightens me to see that magnificent series of volumes anywhere but in a fireproof safe. If I had my way Congress would buy them and *print* copies to be given to the larger libraries and historical societies and for sale to private collectors. That no doubt is too much to hope, but I really think it is a duty for our Government to secure this great work and place it in our capital city where students may have access to it. Anyone going abroad to study the original documents could thus by going to Washington make a schedule for his researches to start with.

I wish that the famous historical societies, like yours and the two in Boston, might take, as bodies, some action to urge the matter upon the Government.

The sources of gifts for the year ending October 15 number three hundred and eighty-six, namely: from thirty-six members, one hundred and thirty-one persons not members, and two hundred and nineteen societies and institutions. We have received from them nine hundred and thirty-five books; twenty-nine hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; twenty-two bound and seventy unbound volumes of newspapers; ten maps; eight manuscript volumes; six coins; six photographs; four broadsides; two engravings and one medal; by exchange twenty books,

and five pamphlets; and from the bindery thirty-eight volumes of newspapers and eighty-seven volumes of magazines;—a total of ten hundred and forty-three books, twenty-nine hundred and thirty-seven pamphlets, thirty-eight bound and seventy unbound volumes of newspapers etc.

An interesting Harvard College quarto broadside from President Salisbury bears the following endorsement by his honored father (H. C. 1817): "Extract from College Laws presented to Stephen Salisbury, Jun^r when he was informed that he was admitted August, 1813: hence it was commonly called the *Admittatur*, August 30, 1817—the last is date of graduation." A sample from these "Extracts from the Laws of Harvard College, for the information of the parents and guardians of students" follows:

CHAPTER I.

LAW II. THE parents or guardians of those, who have been accepted on examination, or some other person for them, shall pay *ten dollars* to the Steward toward defraying their College charges, also give bond to the President and Fellows, with such surety or sureties, as shall be to the satisfaction of the Steward, in the sum of *four hundred dollars*, to pay their several quarter bills, according to the laws and customs of the College, together with such sum, as may be assessed upon them by the President and Tutors, to repair their chambers or studies, should any damage be done during the Commencement season, when they shall take their degree; and they shall lodge the said bond with the Steward, who shall, as soon as may be, deliver the same to the Treasurer; and, in case of death or removal before the College charges arise to the sum, which shall be advanced, as aforesaid, the Steward shall return the remainder to the person, who gave the bond.

LAW III. Every one, who has been accepted on examination, shall, as soon as may be, exhibit to the President a certificate from the Steward, that the foregoing law has been complied with, and sign an engagement to observe the laws of the College in the following form, namely,

I, the subscriber, being admitted a Student of Harvard College, do promise and engage, that I will observe and conform to the Laws and Regulations, made for the government of the students of the said college, and that I will accordingly submit to and obey the several Governors thereof so long as I shall continue a Student of the said College.

Upon the receipt of said certificate, and the signing of said engagement, the President shall deliver him a printed copy of the Laws, to which shall be annexed an order for his admission to the privileges of the College in the following form:

*Cantabrigiæ,
Harvardinum.*

*Admittatur in Collegium
Præses.*

Which copy shall be retained by him, as an evidence of his membership. And no one shall be allowed to take possession of any chamber in the College, or receive the instruction of that Society, or be considered as a member thereof, until he has been admitted according to the form, prescribed in this law.

CHAP. V.

LAW IX. All the Undergraduates shall be clothed in coats of blue grey, or of dark blue, or of black. And no Student shall appear within the limits of the College or town of Cambridge in a coat of any other colour, unless he shall have on a night gown, or, in stormy or cold weather, an outside garment over his coat. Nor shall a surtout, or any outside garment of any other colour than a blue grey, or dark blue, or black, be substituted for the uniform coat. But the students are permitted to wear black gowns, in which they may appear on all public occasions. They shall not wear gold or silver lace, cord, or edging upon their hats, waistcoats, or any other part of their clothing. And whosoever shall violate any of these regulations, shall be fined a sum not less than eighty cents, nor more than one dollar and sixty cents, for each offence; and, if any one persist in such violation, he shall be subject to higher censures.

CHAP. VIII.

LAW XV. The Steward, at the close of every quarter, being notified by the President of the price of commons, as stated by the Corporation, shall, with the assistance of the committee appointed to adjust the cost of commons,* immediately fill up the columns of commons and sizings, and deliver the bill to the Tutor, who shall have been appointed by the President to make it up; and he, the said Tutor, shall immediately fill up the other columns, according to the direction of the President and Tutors; which being signed by the President, and the Tutor, who made it up, the said Tutor shall, without delay, enter the bill in the book of quarter bills, and then deliver it to the Steward, who shall immediately deliver, to each Scholar, his quarter bill; in which the Steward shall particularly specify what fines have been imposed on such Scholars, and for what reasons. Every Scholar is required, without delay, to discharge his quarterly dues; and lawful interest shall be paid, upon every bill, from the time it has been due three months, till it be discharged. And, if any Student shall neglect to pay the Steward, on or before the

*The Steward keeps an exact account of his purchases for commons during the quarter; and his accounts with the vouchers are examined at the end of the quarter by a Committee appointed by the Corporation; which Committee also ascertains the aggregate number of weeks the students have been in commons. The whole cost, being divided by this number, gives the net cost for each week. In this exact way is the price of commons settled from one quarter to another. It varies in some measure, as the price of provisions varies.

second day of every term, each quarter bill, due from him to the college, except the last which was made out, he shall not be permitted to occupy his chamber, join his Class, or continue at the College; and he shall be assessed a sum not less than *twenty five* cents, nor more than *fifty*, for each day after that time, till he shall produce a certificate to the President from the Steward, of his having made the required payment, and in the mean time he shall be subject to the common charges in the quarter bill.

A portion of the library bequeathed to the Society by its late President has been received, but it is thought best to await the arrival of the whole before making a detailed acknowledgment. The bequest to the library includes "all my books, all of my private library and the Greek and Maya Antiquities collected by me, and those now deposited in cases in Antiquarian Hall and the furniture previously loaned to the Society."

In the list of Givers and Gifts under members it will be noted that more than one-half have sent their own productions. Three of the larger works therefrom are volume V. of "The History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850" by James F. Rhodes, LL.D.; the exhaustive "History of Plymouth, New Hampshire" by the Hon. Ezra S. Stearns; and "War Government, Federal and State, 1861-1865" by Captain William B. Weedon. Prof. Allen C. Thomas has again transferred from his library to ours rare and important imprints of early date. Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites sent his report as chairman of the committee of the American Historical Association on "The Best Methods of Organization and Work on the Part of State and Local Historical Societies," in which he writes: "Of the National Societies engaged in the collection and publication of historical material—for obvious reasons the American Historical Association is not included in the report—easily the most important in library and resources is the American Antiquarian Society."

To Mr. Phillips Barry we acknowledge his "Traditional Ballads of New England copied from the collection of the American Antiquarian Society." They were selected from several hundred quarto broadsides which were gathered and bound by our founder. Volume I. contains in ink

the following interesting entry: "Songs in three Vols. cost, binding included, 6 dols., Songs, Ballads, &c., In Three Volumes. Purchased from a Ballad Printer and Seller in Boston, 1813. Bound up for Preservation—to show what articles of this kind are in vogue with the vulgar at this time, 1814. N. B. Songs and common Ballads are not so well printed at this time as 70 years ago, in Boston. Presented to the Society by Isaiah Thomas, Aug¹, 1814."

Mr. Charles Currier Beale has kindly sent us the Proceedings of the New York State Stenographer's Association at its 30th annual meeting which contains his "Vacation of a Shorthand Antiquarian." As supplementing his notes on the same subject, in the librarian's report of April, 1902, the following is offered:

"We stopped at Worcester long enough to make a careful inspection of the excellent collection of valuable shorthand books in the American Antiquarian Society's Library. There they have the first shorthand book published in America, Sarjeant's edition of the famous Gurney system, published in Philadelphia in 1789, and also the first Pitmanic shorthand book published in this country, Stephen Pearl Andrews' Phonographic Class Book, Boston, 1844. They have many other works equally interesting to collectors and bibliographers, but to those not particularly interested in the study it would be tedious for me to go through the list. But I am sure all of you would have been interested to see the quaint old shorthand manuscripts there preserved, for they have the diary or "Dayly Observations" of Thomas Shepard, the younger, son of one of the first ministers of Massachusetts Bay Colony, written in 1650 and the following years: the diary of John Hull, the mint-master and first treasurer of that colony, and of about the same date; and the note-book of Thomas Lechford, the first lawyer of New England, covering the years 1639-1641. All of these were written wholly or in part in shorthand. Truly it was almost wonderful to look at those quaint old stenographic manuscripts, written by those who for more than two centuries have been only names in history, almost forgotten even by the student and unheard of by everyone else, and to think that even in the beginnings of our great country the now almost despised art of shorthand was deemed worthy of being learned and used by the leading men of the day. For in those three time-stained books is the handiwork of representative men from the pulpit, the bar, and the government."

We acknowledge to the Burrows Brothers Company, for service rendered, not only Avery's "History of the United States and its People," as issued, but several reproductions

in color of the rare historical engravings of Doolittle and Revere.

Mr. J. Chester Bushong, our photographer, having reproduced our oil portraits of Increase and Cotton Mather, has presented copies for our portfolio. The exhaustive History of Newburyport to 1905 inclusive has been placed in the local history alcove by the author, Hon. John J. Currier. Forty years ago Mr. Wendell Phillips Garrison of "The Nation" accepted an invitation to preserve here a file of that periodical. It has come weekly without a break and has been of service to us and to our patrons. In the last issue of volume LXXXII. is the following:

VALENTINE, June 28, 1906.

"The need of a prolonged rest after forty-one years of unrelaxed application in the service of the *Nation*, constrains me, from the present date to relinquish the editorial direction of this journal, with extreme reluctance and with far profounder feelings. I take a grateful leave of my readers and of my cherished and indispensable associates."

At the end of his admirable index he has added:

"The Eighty-second and last Index to *The Nation* (1865-1906) prepared by the hand of W. P. G."

Mr. John E. Kimball, chairman of the Building Committee, has presented the "Souvenir of the Charles Larned Memorial and the Free Public Library of Oxford, Massachusetts 1906." It is a happy coincidence that the founder, Hon. Ira M. Burton, was for many years a member of the Council of this Society, and that the addresses at the dedication of the "Memorial" were made by two of our present Council, Hon. Carroll D. Wright and Mr. Samuel S. Green, and by your Librarian, the only surviving son of the founder.

Señor D. Gustavo Martinez Alomia of Campeche has added to our Spanish American alcove his "Historiadores de Yucatan" in which he devotes a chapter to our late lamented President and his devoted labors in behalf of that most interesting country.

With the gift of Capt. Otis Winsor's "Log of the Bark Annie W. Weston" he sent a brief sketch of his life from a Duxbury sailor-boy of sixteen to retired ship-master of eighty years.

The following letter was received 20, July, 1906:

BOSTON, MASS., July 19, 1906.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, WORCESTER, MASS.,

Gentlemen:—I beg to inform you that by the will of John C. Palfrey, deceased, the copyrights and plates of "A Compendious History of New England" written by his father, John Gorham Palfrey, are bequeathed to your Society. If it is your wish to accept this bequest I should be glad to confer with your representative with reference to the transfer of the copyrights and plates.

Yours very truly,

JOHN G. PALFREY, Ex'or
of Est. of John C. Palfrey.

Our copy of Palfrey's "New England" has in volume I. the following entry: "American Antiquarian Society from the author. 1858, Dec. 21." In the preface we find at page iv:

"To no one am I indebted for more light than to that eminent archaeologist, Mr. Samuel Foster Haven of Worcester. Especially have I been aided by him in elaborating the view, presented in these pages, of the origin and purposes of the Company of Massachusetts Bay. So long ago as the year 1837, as well as at different times since, I published my thoughts respecting the political relations of some of those early movements of the government of Massachusetts, which have generally been ascribed to religious bigotry. I have been greatly assisted in maturing them by Mr. Haven's treatise on the Massachusetts Company, in the third volume of the collections of the American Antiquarian Society; and not less by private correspondence with which he has honored me."

Dr. Palfrey, who was for twenty-five years an honored member of this Society, was born in Boston, May 2, 1796, and died at Cambridge, April 26, 1881.

The following letters from our friend, the lamented Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., relate to statements in our Proceedings of April 25, 1888, in the matter of the Winthrop sword:

10 WALNUT STREET, BOSTON, Oct. 16, 1888.

DEAR SIR:—

In the printed account of the last semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Soc'y, my cousin, M^r. T. L. Winthrop, is made to say that the label on a sword recently presented by him is "in the hand-writing of M^r. Robert C. Winthrop," which is not the case. The mistake must have resulted from a slip of his pen, or from an incorrect copy of his letter, and it is desirable that it should be rectified in the records of the Society to guard against any future misunderstanding.

The label in question was written by *me* some seven years ago, at the request of my cousin, the late M^r. William B. Swett, in whose keeping the sword then was. It had been packed away for a quarter of a century without any label, and she was afraid the interesting family-tradition connected with it would be lost sight of. I am ashamed now to perceive that I must have prepared this label hurriedly, as I perpetuated an error before in print by describing Fitz-John as "second in command of the Expedition against Canada in 1690," whereas he was the commander of that Expedition, and I appear to have said he was Agent for Connecticut "1693-8," whereas the proper dates should be 1693-7.

Now that this weapon, after forty years of comparative oblivion, has found an appropriate home in the museum of the Am. Antiq. Soc'y, it is very desirable it should be accurately described; and if you have retained *my* label, I much prefer to substitute the enclosed, which is a little fuller and quite correct.

My cousin, M^r. T. L. W., went abroad last spring and is to be absent another year, otherwise I should communicate this through him, but I have written him on the subject. I notice D^r. E. E. Hale, in his remarks, styles him "Colonel Winthrop," thereby confounding him with another member of the family. D^r. Hale also says "We are so fortunate as to possess in our own hall the original portrait of John Winthrop, which has been ascribed to the pencil of Vandyke, Sr."

If it would be agreeable to you, I should be glad to put in writing *evidence* which makes it almost certain that the portrait in question is an old copy, painted in Boston, in 1691, for the then M^r. Adam Winthrop (grandson of Gov. W.). The facts are too long to recite here.

Yours truly,

R. C. WINTHROP, JUN^r.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.,
Librarian, Am. Antiquarian Soc'y.

Mr. Winthrop's corrected label-record reads: "Sword of John Winthrop, generally known as 'Fitz John Winthrop;' sometime Captain in the Army of Gen. Monk; afterwards distinguished in the Indian wars; Major-General commanding the expedition against Canada in 1690; Agent of Connecticut in London, 1693-7; Governor of Connecticut, 1698-1707. Born in Ipswich, Mass., March 14, 1638—died in Boston, Nov.^r 27, 1707. Buried in King's Chapel grave-yard. This sword, after having been carefully preserved by six generations of the Winthrop family, was given to the American Antiquarian Society in 1888 by Thomas Lindall Winthrop of Boston, third of that name."

10 WALNUT STREET, BOSTON, Oct. 18, '88.

MY DEAR SIR,

In reply to your polite letter of yesterday, I do not think it at all necessary that any correction should be made in the pamphlets now in course of distribution. It will be quite sufficient to make the change in the one you keep as a permanent record. My father was afraid some one would notice that the label was not in his handwriting and that some misunderstanding might ensue. He fully believes in the tradition attaching to the sword, tho' he doubts whether the *sash* has any association with it. I shall make a point of reading him your letter. He has often regretted that he has been so rarely able to attend the meetings of the Am. Antiquarian Society.

Before I write out the evidence I alluded to which bears, as I think, upon the Socy's portrait of Gov. Winthrop, I should be much obliged if you would give me the precise date of its presentation, the name of the donor and what he said about it. I am merely under the general impression that it was given more than fifty years ago by a son or grandson of Professor John Winthrop of Harvard. My father has mislaid a memorandum he once made about it.

Your's faithfully,

R. C. WINTHROP, J.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.

With regard to the Society's portrait of Governor John Winthrop, I at once replied that in our "Book of Donations, Volume 2," under the heading *Cabinet*, in the handwriting of Isaiah Thomas, appears "July 3^d, 1830. A likeness of John Winthrop, First Governor of Massachusetts. A halflikeness as large as Life. Taken in his Life time and preserved in the Winthrop Family until this Time. N. B. This likeness in its ancient frame was given by Legacy to this Society by the late William Winthrop of Cambridge."

I am asked to report chronologically an effort of Senator Hoar to recover for us a Cotton Mather rarity belonging to our Library. In my report of April 27, 1881, is the following: "One of the Mather productions long absent from the shelves but still showing a portion of the Thomas bookplate and the shelf numbers has been brought to our notice by a collector whose wife found it in "lot 201 Sermons and Essays" which she purchased from a "Catalogue of Articles | shown at the | Antique and Art Loan Exhibition, | Putnam, Conn., | March 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20

1880." It is Cotton Mather's "Much in Little; or Three Brief Essays to Sum up the Whole Christian Religion," 12mo. pp. 73, Boston, 1702." and is very rare. Mr. Sabin in his *Bibliotheca Americana* mentions no other copy than ours; and we hope it may be returned speedily to the Library." Sometime after Dr. Haven's death the case was referred to Vice-President Hoar, as appears by the following letter:

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
WORCESTER, MASS., Dec. 6, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. HOAR:

I have just secured a missing Mather, loaned many years ago to Mr. George Brinley and am very anxious to report the recovery through your wise instrumentality, of our "Much in Little; or three brief Essays to Sum up the Whole Christian Religion," a Cotton Mather tract now in the hands of ———. Mrs. ——— bought it at a loan exhibition sale in lot No. 201, for which Mr. ——— says she paid \$1.00. I send the pamphlet in use at the loan exhibition. Please preserve.

Very truly yours,
E. M. BARTON, Lib.

Mr. Hoar replied:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18, '83.

MY DEAR MR. BARTON,

I have written to ask Mr. ——— to come and see me and will report about the Mather book when I come home for Christmas.

I am

Y'rs very truly,
GEO. F. HOAR.

The following letter needs no introduction:

Jan'y 2d, 1884.

DEAR SIR:

Having recently had some conversation with Senator Hoar in reference to Cotton Mather's little book of "Much in Little" in which he expressed the desire that I might in some way consent to turn it over to your Society, I have after some consideration thought best to write you. Mr. Hoar has been a good friend to me and his influence in this matter has induced me to make you the offer of it. More than two years ago I was pressed very closely to name a price for it, which I declined to make, fearing that any offer I might make would be accepted. Now as your society are so desirous to obtain this copy and having very great respect for Mr. Hoar and his wishes, I will make you the offer of it in exchange for your collection of old copper U. S. cents and half-cents. I should consider the coins of small money value as compared with the book, but am induced to give you this opportunity of obtaining

it for the reasons above stated and not from any wish or desire to part with it at least for the present, in any such manner as here proposed.

Very Respectfully,

E. M. BARTON, Esqr., WORCESTER, MASS.

In the librarian's report of October 21, 1884, is the following reference to the case:

"The list of books catalogued and shelf-marked but not found, has with one exception been checked off, partly by the aid of our Card Catalogue. The exceptional case is in the hands of our President, and will receive the attention it deserves. The missing volume in the case referred to having been traced and clearly identified, it would seem that both for our own protection, as well as for that of kindred societies, legal steps to decide its ownership should be taken if moral suasion fails. It was a wise and liberal member of this society—a firm believer in and supplier of safeguards—who said, "Other things being equal my gifts will be placed where they will not only best but longest serve their purpose." There is a lesson which should not be forgotten in the following paragraph from a report in the Library Journal of the past summer: "Of four hundred and seventy-one volumes missing no less than four hundred and two have disappeared from the cases of new books, novels and reference books, which are freely open to our readers and with reference to which the library is protected by nothing but their honesty." While the Librarian's experience meetings, held from year to year since 1876, have been productive of great good, it must be remembered that we best subserve each other's interests by constant, faithful and vigilant care of our own."

The next year Mr. — made the following proposition:

Jan'y 20th, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 16 recd: I am in receipt of no communication from Mrs. — upon the subject of this book or otherwise since my return from — in November last. I gave you the conversation had with her the last time we met—what she may have to say to me now I know not—if she has changed her mind about it, and admit to you that it belongs to me and is subject to my disposal, I will ask her to send it to me. Should she consent to do this, the next time I go to — will submit this book to three Gentlemen whom I will name—who I doubt not will be entirely acceptable to your people—they are all book men and above reproach for honesty of purpose and strict integrity—by the result of their decision I am willing to abide as to whom this book belongs.

Very Respectfully,

HON. GEO. F. HOAR, U. S. Senate, City.

As to the foregoing, President Hoar reported:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, '85.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have the enclosed from Mr. ———, in answer to a note I wrote him the other day. I have replied that his plan will be entirely satisfactory, understanding that the three persons are to be jointly selected, have formed no opinion and hear both sides. I am,

Y'rs very truly,

GEO. F. HOAR.

While expressing regret at the outcome of his efforts, Mr. Hoar with his usual liberality, requested the librarian to secure if possible a copy of the missing work, that he might present the same to the Society.

In conclusion, I submit as pertinent to this occasion, the wise words of three of the Society's best friends who are no longer with us. The last report of our distinguished Librarian, Dr. Samuel Foster Haven was read at the annual meeting, October 21, 1880. It deals largely with the library, its needs, its methods and the outlook upon its future. The character of this report is suggested by the following paragraphs:

"Our library is passing pretty rapidly from the simply conservative condition common to Associations formed for literary and scientific objects, and more or less private and exclusive in their character, to the public position of a free resort for special studies and classes of technical information, that are daily becoming more popular, pervading as they do many of the most interesting subjects of investigation now largely engaging public attention. A broader and more liberal scale of management, demanding larger expenditures, and consequently larger means, must be expected to follow an expansion of public service. There is no help for this if the institution is true to its purposes, and always ready to meet the demands likely to be made upon it . . . Our President is called upon to take a wider outlook among scientific operations and scientific men abroad, and does not fail to meet the varied requisitions that are made on his attention and consideration."

In retiring from the chair, October 21, 1887, President Hoar said:

"The Society was never better equipped for its special work than it is now, as it enters upon the fourth quarter of its first century. I have had occasion lately to make some researches into the history of the settlement of the Northwest. I have been astonished at the wealth and completeness of the collections of material for history contained

in our library. We have a body of young workmen who will more than make good the places of their predecessors."

In accepting the office, 21, October, 1887, our late beloved President Salisbury said:

"Having always regarded the growth of the library as of primary importance, I desire to call the attention of the Society to the fact that for a long period one-half, at least, of our yearly accessions, which are very considerable, have been received from other sources than from members of the Society. In return for these gifts the library has offered, and should continue to offer, such facilities for study and investigation as the most liberal policy of management will admit."

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL. D., Lincoln.—His "John Quincy Adams and Speaker Andrew Stevenson of Virginia."
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Two magazines in continuation; and three photographs.
- BRIGHAM, CLARENCE S., Providence, R. I.,—"Boston in 1682 and 1699;" and one broadside.
- BROOKS, JAMES W., Petersham.—His address on the 150th Anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Petersham.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Photograph of the Court Houses on Court Hill, Worcester.
- COREY, DELORAINE P., Malden.—His "Memoir of John Ward Dean;" and a bound file of "The Malden Outlook."
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—Five of his own publications; six books; and thirty-six pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Nineteen books; and seventy-nine pamphlets.
- GARVER, REV. AUSTIN S., Worcester.—Six books; and seven pamphlets.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL. D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his own publications; and three pamphlets.
- GREEN, JOHN, LL. D., St. Louis, Mo.—His "Memorial of Henry Hitchcock, 1829-1902."
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; twenty-seven books; two hundred and thirteen pamphlets; fifteen engravings; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "Inter-Church or Intra-Church, Which?"
- JOHNSON, EDWARD F., Woburn.—His "Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn, Mass. and some of his Descendants."
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL. D., Paris, France.—The Codex Borgia; one book; and one pamphlet.
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—His "The Word Palatine in America."

- McCALL, HON. SAMUEL W., Winchester.—His speech on the Phillipine Tariff bill, 1906.
- MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Boston.—Two books; eighteen pamphlets; and two magazines, in continuation.
- MOORE, CLARENCE B., PH.D., Philadelphia.—His "Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Black Warrior River," etc.
- PAINE, REV. GEORGE S., Worcester.—A collection of Nelson Centenary material.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—His "Early American Engravings; and The Cambridge Press Imprints, 1640-1692;" his "Memoir of Stephen Salisbury;" nine books; one hundred and thirty-five pamphlets; and a pack of Mexican playing cards.
- PALTSITS, VICTOR H., New York.—Three of his own publications; and one pamphlet.
- RHODES, JAMES F., LL.D., Boston.—His "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850," volume V.
- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, Worcester.—Catalogue of Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester, 1906.
- STEARNS, HON. EZRA S., Fitchburg.—His "History of Plymouth, New Hampshire," in two volumes.
- THOMAS, ALLEN C., Haverford, Pa.—Eight selected volumes, 1501-1655.
- THWAITES, REUBEN G., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "State and Local Historical Societies;" and Tributes to James Davis Butler.
- UPDIKE, DANIEL B., Boston.—Goodwin's "The Making of Trinity Church, Newport."
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—"Original Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," Vol. 7 and the Atlas.
- UTLEY, HON. SAMUEL, Worcester.—Rice's "Worcester Book;" and Tributes to Samuel P. Langley.
- VIGNAUD, HENRY, Paris, France.—His "Sophus Ruge et ses vues sur Colomb."
- WALKER, JOSEPH B., Concord, N. H.—His "New Hampshire Five Provincial Congresses, July 2, 1774—January 5, 1776."
- WALTERS, REV. THOMAS F., Ipswich.—Reprint of the fourth edition of "The Simple Cöbler of Aggawam."
- WEEDEN, CAPT. WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—His "War Government, Federal and State, 1861-1865."
- WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—"Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England, 1632-1830."
- WRIGHT, CARROLL D., LL.D., Worcester.—"Celebration of the 200th. Anniversary of the Birth of Franklin by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Boston," containing Col. Wright's address.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ABERCROMBIE, DAVID W., LL. D., *Principal*, Worcester.—Annual Catalogue of Worcester Academy, 1906.
- ADAMS, CHARLES THORNTON, New York.—His "Family of James Thornton, father of Hon. Matthew Thornton."
- ANDREWS, GIBSON C., Atlanta, Ga.—His "A Story of Humanity."
- BACON, WILLIAM P., New Britain, Conn.—"Bibliography of Class Books and Class Records, 1792-1905, Yale University."
- BARRY, PHILLIPS, Roxbury.—His "Traditional Ballads of New England copied from the Collection of the American Antiquarian Society."
- BARTON, F. MACDONALD, Worcester.—"The Albemarle" as issued.
- BATES, GEORGE W., Detroit, Mich.—"Dedicatory Exercises, Wayne County Court House, Oct. 11, 1902."
- BATES, WILLIAM C., Boston.—His "Memoir of Benjamin Barstow Torrey."
- BEALE, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "The Vacation of a Shorthand Antiquarian."
- BIGELOW, SAMUEL L., San Francisco, Cal.—Seventy books; and one hundred sixty-four pamphlets.
- BLACKER, FRANCIS W., Worcester.—Two phonographic text books of early date.
- BLANCHARD, FRANK S. & COMPANY, Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- BOOK & NEWS DEALER COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Book and News Dealer."
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BROWN, BENJAMIN W., Northbridge.—Two historical pamphlets.
- BROWNE, FRANCIS F., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of "The Dial."
- BRYANT, H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.—One pamphlet.
- BULLARD, Rev. HENRY N., Ph.D., Mound City, Mo.—"The Invitation," as issued.
- BULLOCK, Mrs. A. GEORGE, Worcester.—"Register of the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1893-1905."
- BURROWS BROTHERS COMPANY, Cleveland, O.—Avery's "History of the United States and its People," Vols. 1 and 2; and two engravings.
- BUSHNELL, FORDIS O., Worcester.—"The Vermonter," 1901-1905.
- BUSHONG, J. CHESTER, Worcester.—Photographs of the Society's oil portraits of Cotton Mather and Increase Mather.
- CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., Andover.—His "Strange History of the Nursery Rhyme, 'Kid Wouldn't Go.'"
- CARPENTER, HELEN E., Monson.—Holy Bible with manuscript notes on the Carpenter Family.
- CORBIN, Mrs. CALVIN R., Chicago.—Four of her own publications.
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., *Editor*, New York.—"The Spirit of '76" as issued.

- COUSINS, REV. EDGAR M., *Secretary*, Thomaston, Me.—Minutes of the Maine General Conference, 1905.
- CURRIER, HON. JOHN J., Newburyport.—His "History of Newburyport, Mass., 1769-1905."
- CUTLER, U. WALDO, Worcester.—Seven text books of early date.
- DALTON, MR. CHARLES H., Boston.—His "Letter to Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane in respect to regulating the issue of postage stamps."
- DAVIES, REV. THOMAS F., Worcester.—The Year Book of All Saints Church 1905-1906; and "The Parish," as issued.
- DAWSON, SAMUEL E., Litt. D., Toronto, Ontario.—His "Brest on the Quebec Labrador."
- DEAN, HENRY E., Worcester.—Manuscript Record of deaths in Worcester, May 10, 1842—December 30, 1849.
- DICKINSON, G. STUART., Worcester.—Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 1906.
- DUGGAN, HON. JOHN T., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address, 1906.
- DWINNELL, MRS. BENJAMIN D., Fitchburg.—Four of her poems.
- EARLE, STEPHEN C., Worcester.—Fifty-three pamphlets.
- EASTON, FERGUS A., *President*, Worcester.—"Fourteenth Reunion of the 6th. New York Cavalry."
- FERRIER, FRANCIS, Berkeley, Cal.—"Booklet relating to Berkeley, California."
- FISHER, RICHARD D., Baltimore, Md.—Six of his own publications.
- FORD, WORTHINGTON C., Washington, D. C.—His Report upon Dr. Millington Miller's Copy of the *Cape Fear Mercury* of June 3, 1775.
- FOSTER, HERBERT D., Hanover, N. H.—"Stark's Independent Command at Bennington."
- FOX, IRVING A., *Manager*, Boston, "The Church Militant," as issued.
- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—"The Periodical," as issued.
- FUNK AND WAGNALL COMPANY, New York.—"The Church of Christ."
- GALE, MAJOR GEORGE H. G., U. S. A.—"The Magindanaw Reader for the public Schools of the Moro Province."
- GILMAN, WARREN R., M. D., Worcester.—"The Harvard Graduates Magazine," in continuation.
- GINN & COMPANY, Boston.—"The Text Book Bulletin," as issued.
- GOGGIN, REV. WILLIAM H., Worcester.—Six European coins.
- GOLDEN RULE COMPANY, Boston.—The "Christian Endeavor World," as issued.
- GOOLD, NATHAN, Portland, Me.—Three of his own publications.
- GREEN ANDREW H., ESTATE OF.—Eighteen books; three hundred and seventy pamphlets; one bound volume of newspapers; and ten wall maps.

- BRIDGSON, REV. JOHN, Cambridge.—Proceedings of the Wiscasset Fire Society at the 419th. Quarterly Meeting.
- FALL, CHARLES S., New Britain, Conn.—One pamphlet.
- HALL, J. ELMER, Worcester.—Thirteen Civil War pamphlets.
- HAMILTON, F. WALTER, Worcester.—One photograph.
- HARRIMAN, FREDERICK W., D.D., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Diocese of Connecticut Convention Journal, 1906.
- HAVEN, MRS. SAMUEL F., Worcester.—Three books; seventeen pamphlets; and parcels of newspapers.
- HAWAII, PROMOTION COMMITTEE.—Publications of the Committee, as issued.
- HENDERSON & HOWES, Boston.—One pamphlet.
- HINTS PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of their magazine.
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, LL.D., Amherst.—Humphrey's "Sketches of the Early History of Amherst College."
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—Two pamphlets.
- HOLMES, CLAY W., Elmira, N. Y.—His "Genealogy of the Lineal Descendants of William Wood;" and "Genealogy of John Steevens of Guilford, 1645," by Mrs. Holmes.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, Cambridge.—"The Riverside Bulletin," as issued.
- HOWARD, D. W., Dorchester.—"A writ against Charles Johnson, 1756."
- HUNTING, H. R. & COMPANY, Springfield.—One pamphlet.
- KARSLAKE & COMPANY, London, Eng.—Numbers of "Book Auction Records."
- KELLOGG JOHN E., Fitchburg.—Two copies of "The Fitchburg Souvenir, 1892."
- KIMBALL, JOHN E., *Chairman*, Oxford.—"Souvenir of the Charles Larned Memorial and Free Public Library of Oxford, Massachusetts, 1906."
- KINNICUTT, LINCOLN N., Worcester.—His "Indian Names of Places in Worcester County Massachusetts."
- LANE, WILLIAM C., *Editor*, Cambridge.—"Letters of Nathan W. Appleton to Eliphalet Pearson, 1773-1784."
- LAURIAT, CHARLES E., Boston.—"Boston Book Notes," as issued.
- LEWIS, HOMER P., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—"Records of the School Committee of Worcester, 1903-1905."
- LONGMAN'S, GREEN & COMPANY, New York.—"Notes on Books", as issued.
- LOVERING, F. C., Leicester.—One pamphlet.
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—Two periodicals, as issued.
- MANGAN, JOHN J., Lynn.—His "Life of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, third Minister of Lynn, 1680-1720."

- McALEER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—His "A Study in the Etymology of the Indian place name Missisquoi."
- McCLURE, PHILLIPS & COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Sheaf."
- McCLURG, A. C. & COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—"Monthly Bulletin of New Books," as issued.
- McINTIRE, Hon. CHARLES J., Cambridge.—His Address at the Dedication of Memorial Town Hall, Charlton, Mass.
- MESSENGER PRINTING & PUBLISHING COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.
- MITCHELL, J. ALFRED, *City Auditor*, Boston.—His Report, 1905-1906.
- MORRELL, HIRAM K., Gardiner, Me.—His "History of Poland Springs and the Ricker Hostelry."
- MUNSON STEAMSHIP COMPANY, New York.—"The Cuba Bulletin," as issued.
- MURILLO M., Madrid, Spain.—Numbers of the "Boletín de la Librería."
- NEWCOMB, H. T., Washington, D. C.—"The Facts about Railroad Rates."
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NUTT, CHARLES, Worcester.—"Notes on Somerville, Massachusetts."
- OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of "Open Court."
- PUFFER, LORING W., Bridgewater.—Two of his publications.
- REYNOLDS, HENRY A., M.D., Fitchburg.—Forty-six books; and twenty-three pamphlets.
- REYNOLDS, MRS. MARY R., Worcester.—Eight books; twenty one pamphlets; and three magazines, in continuation.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—His "Paxton Burial Ground Inscriptions to 1849."
- RICHMOND, GEORGE H., New York.—Three pamphlets.
- RIDER, SIDNEY S., *Editor*, Providence, R. I.—Numbers of "Book Notes."
- ROBERTS, CHARLES H., Concord, N. H.—"A Sketch of the Life of George Roberts Who Fought Under John Paul Jones."
- ROBINSON, MRS. CHARLES, Lawrence, Kansas.—A type-written copy of the Genealogy of Charles Robinson; and two pamphlets.
- ROE, Hon. ALFRED S., Worcester.—The Declaration of Faith with List of Members of the Second Baptist Church in Worcester, 1842.
- SALLEY, JR., ALEXANDER S., Columbia, S. C.—His "The True Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence."
- SARGENT, GEORGE H., Boston.—One pamphlet.
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—"The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.
- SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Eight books; and eleven pamphlets.

- SMITH, MISS ISABEL E.**, Worcester.—Twenty-five books; three pamphlets; and two bound volumes of newspapers.
- SMITH, JONATHAN**, Clinton.—“Reunion of the Descendants of William Smith, Peterborough, N. H., 1904.”
- SMITH, HON. ZACHARY F.**, Louisville, Ky.—Numbers 14 and 19 of the Fison Club publications.
- SOUTHER, WILLIAM T.**, M.D., Worcester.—Twenty-five selected books.
- SOUTHWICK, MRS. EDWARD**, Worcester.—One hundred and fifty-nine selected books.
- SPOONER, MRS. JENNIE C.**, Barre.—“The Barre Gazette,” as issued.
- SWAN, ROBERT T.**, Commissioner, Boston.—His Reports for 1905 and 1906 on the Custody and Condition of Public Records.
- SWIFT, LINDSAY**, Secretary, Boston.—“Celebration in Boston of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Benjamin Franklin.”
- TAPT, MRS. DAVID A.**, Worcester.—Eleven books; and “St. John’s Echo,” 1888-1892.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.**—“The Worcester Daily Telegram;” and “The Sunday Telegram,” in continuation.
- TERRY, JAMES**, Hartford, Conn.—His “Allyn Hyde of Ellington Conn. together with a review of an early Connecticut engraver and his work.”
- TOMPKINS, HAMILTON B.**, New York.—His “Great Swamp Fight, 19th of December, 1675.”
- TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY**, Newburyport.—“Life and Services of Benjamin Franklin.”
- TOWNLEY, JOSEPH B.**, Worcester.—Ninety-four numbers of magazines.
- TURNER, JOHN H.**, Ayer.—“The Groton Landmark,” as issued.
- WALSH, WILLIAM L.**, Brookfield.—His “History of the First Parish Church, Brookfield, Mass.”
- WARE, WILLIAM & COMPANY**, Boston.—“The Old Farmer’s Almanac,” 1905.
- WASHBURN, HON. CHARLES G.**, Worcester.—His “Technical Education in Relation to Industrial Development” and “Mechanical Original Spy Notes” in six bound volumes.”
- WELLS, CHARLES T.**, Hartford, Conn.—Year Book of the First Church of Christ in Hartford, 1906.
- WHITE, MRS. CAROLINE E.**, Editor, Philadelphia, Pa.—“The Journal of Zoöphily,” as issued.
- WHITE, REV. ELIOT**, Secretary, Worcester.—Two books; and Journal of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Diocese of Western Massachusetts.
- WIGHT, EDWARD B.**, Chicago, Ill.—Two early pamphlets relating to the Shakers.
- WINBOR, HENRY O.**, New York.—A manuscript volume; and one book.

WOODBURY-CARLTON COMPANY, Worcester.—The Paul Revere Calendar, 1906.

WORCESTER GAZETTE COMPANY.—The Daily Evening Gazette, as issued.

WYMAN & GORDON, Worcester.—Their "Biographical Sketches" etc., as issued.

YATES, EDGAR, Everett.—His "William Yates and his Descendants."

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ABBOT ACADEMY.—Andover. Numbers of "The Abbot Courant."

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—"The Baptist Missionary Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Annual Report of 1905.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The Fifty-third Annual Report.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—"The Sailor's Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—One pamphlet.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY.—The 266th Annual Record of the Company.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Publications of the Seminary, as issued.

ARMY WAR COLLEGE LIBRARY, Washington, D. C.—Library publications, as issued.

AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—Library publications, as issued.

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board.

BOSTON CEMETERY DEPARTMENT.—The Annual Report of 1905-1906.

BOSTON, CITY OF.—City Documents of 1905, in four volumes.

BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL.—The Forty-second Annual Report.

BOSTON PORT AND SEAMEN'S AID SOCIETY.—Annual Report, 1906.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

BOSTON REGISTRY DEPARTMENT.—Two volumes of Records.

BOSTON TRANSIT COMMISSION.—The Eleventh Annual Report.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.

BRIDGEWATER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

BROCKTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

BROWN UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Report of the Library, 1905.

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Association, June 18, 1906.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

CANADIAN BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION.—The Canadian Year Book for 1906.

CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

CARNEGIE FREE LIBRARY, Allegheny, Pa.—Library publications, as issued.

- CARNEGIE LIBRARY, Charlotte, N. C.—Souvenir Programme, 1906, of the Celebration of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.
- CHARLESTOWN GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY.—One pamphlet.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, Boston.—The Annual Report, 1905.
- CHURCH OF THE UNITY, Worcester.—"A book of Hymns for Public and Private Devotion" 8vo., Cambridge, 1846.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- CLARK UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- CLINTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"The Holder Memorial."
- COLGATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- COLORADO COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.—"The Political Science Quarterly," as issued.
- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—Eleven Books; Eighteen pamphlets; and two broadsides.
- CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—"History of the Federal Land Grant of July 2, 1802."
- DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- DEUTSCHE HISTORISCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR DEN DISTRICT COLUMBIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY, Baltimore, Md.—The Twentieth Annual Report.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—Reports of the Survey, as issued.
- FAIRMOUNT PARK ART ASSOCIATION, Philadelphia, Pa.—The Annual Report, 1906.
- FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Chicago, Ill.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—The City Documents, 1905.
- FITCHBURG PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- FORBES LIBRARY, Northampton.—The Eleventh Annual Report.
- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society as issued.
- GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA.—Reports of the Survey, as issued.
- GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND.—The Constitution and Circular.

HARTFORD BOARD OF TRADE.—The Eighteenth Annual Report.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Publications of the Seminary, as issued.

HARVARD COLLEGE, CLASS OF 1856.—The Class Memorial of 1906.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The University Catalogue 1905-06; and Annual Report 1904-1905.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

HAVERHILL PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.—Publications of the Department, as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

HISTORISCHER VEREIN DER OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

HONOLULU LIBRARY AND READING ROOM ASSOCIATION.—The Charter and By Laws of the Association.

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SOME OF THE ROMAN REMAINS IN ENGLAND.

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

For several years I have followed with great interest the excavations which have been made in towns of the Roman period in English history. In 1902 I visited Uriconium, or Viriconium as many investigators believe it should be called. It is situated near the hill Wrekin and is reached from Shrewsbury, in the interesting museum of which place are to be seen the objects found in the excavations. A small town named Wroxeter occupies an inconsiderable portion of the site of the old Roman enclosure.

In 1903, I had an opportunity of watching the trenching which is still going on at Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester, in Hampshire,) and again during the past summer; both times under the valuable guidance of Mr. Mill Stephenson, an accomplished expert. During my recent visit I was so fortunate as to meet at the ruins, and have a long and most profitable conversation with, Mr. George Edward Fox, who is, I understand, the leading authority in England in regard to architectural remains of Roman Britain. A minute record of the discoveries at Silchester appears in the successive volumes of *Archaeologia*, the official organ of the Society of Antiquaries under whose auspices the excavations there have been made in recent years. Besides visiting Pevensey (supposed to have been the ill-fated Anderida), Richborough (the Roman landing-place, Rutupiae) and a Roman villa at Chedworth, as well as other spots rendered memorable by the presence of the Romans, the past summer and in previous years, I took occasion early in August to examine on the ground the excavations now being made at Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, on the site of the old Roman walled town of Venta Silurum and to visit the Roman wall in Northumbria and Cumberland.

I propose in this paper to write briefly about a few of the other more conspicuous and interesting sites of Roman remains and then describe more at length, but in a very limited way, the results of excavations at Silchester.

DATES.

Allow me at the start to refresh your memories by giving you a few important dates. Julius Cæsar, as you remember, first invaded Britain in 55 and again in 54, B. C. As you know, he made no permanent settlement. That was made by the Emperor Claudius, who sent his general, Aulus Plautius to Britain, A. D. 43. That officer, having achieved considerable success, went into camp on the site, it has been conjectured, of the present, but then non-existent, city of London and sent for Claudius to come to complete the victory.

Claudius came, and during a stay of sixteen days, or so, in Britain captured Camulodunum (Colchester) the stronghold of his opponent. Having returned to Rome, Aulus Plautius continued the conquest with the result of gaining for the Empire the Southern and Western portions of Britain, from the Thames to the Severn. He seems to have fixed the Romans "permanently at Colchester and Gloucester (Glevum), which places from that date became two very important stations."¹

During the reign of Nero, A. D. 60 or 61, came the formidable revolt of Boadicea (Boudicca, according to Thomas Hodgkin, who has ably described the Roman period of history in England in a volume bearing the date of the present year.) The year 78 is memorable; for it was in that year that Cnæius Julius Agricola was sent to Britain by Vespasian as *legatus*. He was the father-in-law of the historian, Tacitus and "the most celebrated and probably the greatest of the governors of Britain."² Under him the Roman arms made great progress.

¹ Scarth's *Roman Britain*, p. 39. For full titles of books quoted, see list of books at the end of the paper.

² Hodgkin. *History of England*, p. 46.

In about A. D. 120 the wall between the Tyne and the Solway was built and about 140 the one between the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

The Emperor Septimius Severus set forth from Rome in 208 to bring the affairs of the province of Britain into order, and died, it will be remembered, at York (*Eboracum*) in 210. The usurper Constantine withdrew the Roman legions, says Hodgkin, from Britain to Gaul in the year 407.

THE ROMAN WALL.

In speaking of the two barriers constructed by the Romans in Britain, Mr. H. M. Scarth writes that "after remaining for centuries neglected, and their works serving as quarries for material, or harbours for robbers in the times of border warfare, they have, in more recent times, attracted the attention they deserve."³ The lower of these barriers is usually known as The Roman Wall and has been exhaustively described in an interesting and elaborate monograph by Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, the third edition of whose work was published in 1867. "The great fortification," he writes, "which was intended to act not only as a fence against a northern enemy, but to be used as the basis of operation against a foe on either side of it, consists of three parts: I. A Stone Wall, strengthened by a ditch on the northern side. II. An Earth Wall or Vallum, to the south of the stone wall. III. Stations, Castles, Watch-towers, and Roads, for the accommodation of the soldiery who manned the Wall, and for the transmission of military stores. These lie, for the most part, between the stone wall and the earthen rampart."⁴ The stone wall extends from Wallsend (*Segiodunum*) on the north side of the Tyne to Bowness on the north side of the Solway Firth, a distance of seventy-three and a half English miles. The earth wall falls short of this distance by about three miles at each end, not extending beyond Newcastle on the east and terminating at Dykesfield on the west.

³ Page 79.

⁴ Pages 49 and 50.

The murus and the vallum both pursue a straightforward course. The former, says Mr. Bruce, "shooting over the country, in its onward course, only swerves from a straight line to take in its route the boldest elevations. So far from declining a hill, it uniformly selects one."⁶

Beda, (A. D. 671 to 735,) "whose cherished home was the monastery of Jarrow, anciently a part of the parish of Wallsend, is the earliest author who gives"⁶ the dimensions of the stone wall. He speaks of it as twelve feet in height. "In all probability" writes Mr. Bruce, "the Wall would be surmounted by a battlement of not less than four feet in height, and as this part of the structure would be the first to fall into decay, Beda's calculation was probably irrespective of it. This, however, only gives us a total elevation of sixteen feet. Unless we reject the evidence of Ridley" (speaking of the wall as it stood about the year, 1572) "and Erdeswick," (who visited the wall in 1574) "we must admit even after making due allowance for error and exaggeration, that the Wall, when in its integrity, was eighteen or nineteen feet high. This elevation would be in keeping with its breadth. The thickness of the Wall varies considerably. In some places it is six feet, in others nine feet and a half. Probably the prevailing width is eight feet, the measurement given by Beda . . . Throughout the whole of its length the Wall was accompanied on its northern margin by a broad and deep Fosse. . . . Where the ditch traverses a flat or exposed country, a portion of the materials taken out of it has been frequently thrown upon its northern margin, so as to present to the enemy an additional rampart. In those portions, on the other hand, where its assistance could be of no avail, as along the edge of a cliff, the fosse does not appear."⁷

The Vallum, or Earth Wall, which lies uniformly to the south of the stone wall, "consists of three ramparts and a fosse. One of these ramparts is placed close upon the southern edge of the ditch; the two others, of larger dimensions, stand one to the north and the other to the south of

⁶ Page 31.

⁶ Page 32.

⁷ Pages 34 and 35.

it, at the distance of about twenty-four feet. . . .
 A careful examination of the country over which the Wall
 runs, almost necessarily leads to the conclusion that whilst
 the Wall undertook the harder duty of warding off the
 openly hostile tribes of Caledonia, the Vallum was intended
 as a protection from sudden surprise from the south. The
 natives of the country on the south side of the Wall, though
 conquered, were not to be depended upon."⁸

"The third, and perhaps the most important, part of
 the barrier line consisted of the structures that were formed
 for the accommodation of the soldiery, and for the ready
 transmission of troops and stores."⁹ "At distances along
 the line which average nearly four miles, Stationary Camps
 were erected."¹⁰ These were "military cities, adapted to
 the residence of the chief who commanded the district,
 and providing secure lodgment for the powerful body of
 soldiery he had under him. Here the commandant held
 his court; hence issued decrees which none might gainsay.
 Here Roman arts, literature, and luxury struggled for
 existence, whilst all around was ignorance and barbarism."¹¹
 "All the stations have, on their erection, been provided,
 after the usual method of Roman castrametation, with at
 least four gateways."¹²

The best preserved station along the line of the wall is
 at Housesteads, the ancient Borcovicus, about the centre
 of the barrier. The enclosure contains five acres or more.
 I visited that station during the past summer and found
 its ruins very interesting and instructive. A good way
 of reaching it is to go to Haydon Bridge, a station on a
 railway running between Carlisle and Newcastle.

"The list of troops employed to garrison the Wall reveals
 some of the peculiar features of Roman policy."¹³ Whilst
 the "auxiliary troops were exposed to the first assault
 of the foe, the sixth legion, composed it is thought chiefly
 of native Italians, reposed in comparative security at

⁸ Pages 56-57 and 59.

⁹ Page 59.

¹⁰ Page 60.

¹¹ Page 60.

¹² Page 61.

¹³ Page 70.

York."¹⁴ "Troops belonging to the same nation were never placed in contiguous stations."¹⁵ "Making every allowance for the occasional reduction of numbers below the proper standard, it may be presumed that the garrison of the Wall usually consisted of from ten to fifteen thousand men."¹⁶

"In addition to the stations, Castella or Mile-Castles were provided for the use of the troops which garrisoned the Wall. They derive their modern name from the circumstance of their being usually placed at the distance of a Roman mile from each other. . . . The chief object of the castella evidently being to protect the party of soldiers who guarded for the day the contiguous mile of wall from any sudden surprise, the erection of any barracks or huts, needed for their temporary shelter, may have been left to their own diligence and discretion. Between the mile-castles, four subsidiary buildings, generally denominated Turrets or Watch-towers were placed. They were little more than stone sentry-boxes."¹⁷

"The advance of Roman armies, and the formation of roads, were uniformly contemporaneous. The barrier therefore had its Military Way."¹⁸ In the rebellion of 1745, the government suffered great inconvenience from the fact that only portions of the way could be used and those only by employing pack horses. After the suppression of the outbreak, it "turned its attention to the necessity of having a good road across the Isthmus, and that which is now known in the country as the Military Road was constructed at the public expense."¹⁹ The method of examining such portions of the Wall as remain is to pass along this road. A few weeks before I traversed a stretch of it in a carriage, members of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle on Tyne, walked along the road, stopping at places of interest and sleeping in inns near

¹⁴ Page 70.

¹⁵ Page 71.

¹⁶ Page 72.

¹⁷ Pages 72 and 74.

¹⁸ Page 75.

¹⁹ Ibid.

their route. They took, it was said, about a week in making the excursion.

"The Roman Military Way accompanies the Wall throughout its entire course, and uniformly lies between the Murus and the Vallum. It is usually about seventeen feet wide, and is composed of rubble so arranged as to present a rounded surface, elevated in the centre a foot or eighteen inches above the adjoining ground."²⁰ "The Wall is faced on both sides of it with carefully-squared blocks of freestone. The interior is filled with 'rubble,' of any description, firmly imbedded in mortar. The facing stones are usually eight or nine inches thick, and ten or eleven broad; the length of them exceeds their other dimensions, amounting usually to fifteen and occasionally to twenty inches and more. The face of the stone is cut transversely to the lines of stratification, so as to avoid exfoliation by the action of the weather. The stone is made to taper off towards its inner extremity, so as the more readily to adapt itself to the bed of gravelly mortar intended for it. In consequence of the depth to which the stones were set into the Wall, the necessity of rows of binding tiles, which form so characteristic a feature of Roman masonry in the south of England, is done away with. There does not appear to have been a single tile used in any part of the Wall. On one or two occasions, however, as for example at the Housesteads mile-castle, a single row of stone flags has been used, apparently with the same view that tiles were."²¹

"The strength of the Wall has in a large measure depended upon the nature of the mortar made use of."²² Such as was used "sets in a few hours and soon becomes as hard as stone."²³

"But little care was expended in preparing the foundation" of the Wall. "The structure was sufficiently broad

²⁰ Pages 75 and 76.

²¹ Pages 81 and 83.

²² Page 83.

²³ Ibid. The mortar "has evidently been similar to the grout and concrete used by the railway engineers of the present day. The lime has been ground when in an unslacked state, and then carefully mixed with sand, gravel, and stone chippings. When about to be used the mass has been freely mixed with water." Bruce, p. 63.

received its name of *Itinera* of Antonine from the son of Severus, Caracalla, known as Antoninus), but are nevertheless undoubtedly Roman roads, and were in use at an early period in the Roman occupation.

There was an important road between Chester (*Deva*) and Caerleon-on-Usk (*Isca Silurum*), along which were fortified stations, as in later times there were castles, to guard against the ravages of enemies in Wales. Of the eight or nine stations along the road, three, namely: *Uriconium*, *Magna* (Kinchester) and *Ariconium* must have been considerable towns, judging from the size of the fortified enclosures and the Roman remains which have been found.

"The method of constructing the roads," writes Mr. Scarth, "varies according to the character of the country through which they passed, and the materials at hand. They are raised above the surrounding surface of the land, and run in a straight line from station to station. A portion of the Fosse road which remains at Redstock, about ten miles south-west from Bath, which was opened in February, 1881, showed the following construction:—

"1. *Pavimentum*, or foundation, fine earth hard beaten in. 2. *Statumen*, or bed of the road, composed of large stones, sometimes mixed with mortar. 3. *Rudenatio*, or small stones well mixed with mortar. 4. *Nucleus*, formed by mixing lime, chalk, pounded brick or tile; or gravel, sand and lime mixed with clay. 5. Upon this was laid the surface of the paved road, technically called the '*sum-mum dorsum*.' Other roads do not show the same elaborate construction, but they have resisted the wear of ages, and would have existed to the present time if not obliterated by the hand of man. Many have been destroyed in the present age for the sake of road material. In marshy lands the roads were constructed on piles; these have been found in the approach to Lincoln from the south. The roads varied in breadth, having generally a width of fifteen feet."²⁶

The name of "street" (*via strata*), as has appeared, commonly attaches to their course and this appellation continues where the road has been entirely effaced.

²⁶ Page 121.

STATIONS.

During the occupation of Britain by the Romans a strait named Wantsun ran between what was then the Isle of Thanet and the Coast of Kent. That formed the nearest and best channel at that time for the commercial trade with Gaul and Germany. At the northern mouth of the strait stood the fortified station of Regulbium (Reculver) and at its southern entrance the Roman fortress, Rutupia (Richborough). Other stations on the southeast coast of England were Portus Lemanis (Lymne) and Portus Dubris (Dover). The strait, Wantsun, has disappeared and the sea has retired far from the coast. Portions of the defences still remain, however. The most considerable are those at Richborough. Of them it may be said that they constitute the most considerable and perfect Roman fortification in England. The walls inclose a parallelogram of about six acres, and on three sides are in a good state of preservation. The north wall for a considerable stretch is in such perfect condition as to afford as fine a specimen of undisturbed Roman masonry as probably can be found in England. It is ten feet eight inches in thickness and nearly thirty feet in height. The outer facing remains and the binding courses of tiles are nearly in their original state.

The fourth side of the enclosure is open to the river Stour, but it is believed that the sea formerly came up to the landing-place on that side.

A correction must be made in a statement of Mr. C. Roach Smith, the principal authority in regard to the remains of Rutupia. He believed that there was no wall on the east side of the fortifications. Traces have been found, since he wrote, of a return wall on that side, beyond the river. Passing by other stations, Anderida (Pevensey) should be mentioned. The walls are remarkably well preserved and within the enclosure is an early Norman castle. The Roman walls and the later castle are both impressive.

VILLAS.

Turning from the coast, and putting off the mention of towns and cities, we find numerous villas in the interior,

especially in the southern and western portions of Britain. These were centres of comfort, prosperity and luxury and often of no little cultivation.

Mr. Scarth states that "in the immediate neighborhood of Bath" (*Aquæ Sôlis*), "on the borders of Somerset, Wilts and Gloucestershire, and within a radius of five or six miles, thirteen or fourteen villas have been opened, and the pavements and other remains recorded. They are numerous in the more western part of Somerset; and especially in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; also remains of villas are found in Shropshire and South Wales, but many that have at different periods come to light have not been recorded in *Archæologia*"²⁷ or other archæological journals.

One of the largest villas yet opened is at Woodchester in Gloucestershire, and in it was found the finest pavement yet discovered in Britain.

One of the most perfect villas which is also most complete in its arrangements, is at Lydney "on the western bank of the Severn, not far from Gloucester."²⁸ It is on the skirts of the Forest of Dean, a drive into which, by the late Senator Hoar and John Bellows, has been so pleasantly described by the latter in our PROCEEDINGS.

The villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire, which, as stated before, I visited last summer, besides having some beautiful pavements, and being interesting in other respects, has a finely preserved bath and hypocaust.

MINING, MANUFACTURING, ETC.

A word should be written about mining and manufactures in Roman times in Britain. There are numerous indications that iron was produced in quantities. Beds of scorïæ and cinders are found in Hertfordshire, Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire. We find, too, hand bloomeries, with ore imperfectly smelted. The beds of cinders are in some cases from twelve to twenty feet in thickness. Hills

²⁷ Pages 161 and 162.

²⁸ Page 163.

appear that have been mined for iron ore. In speaking of the scale of iron-working in the Forest of Dean, our late associate, John Bellows, told us that it was so great that with the imperfect method of smelting, with Catalan furnaces, etc., used by the Romans, so much metal was left in the cinder "that it has been sought after all the way down to within the present generation as a source of profit; and in the time of Edward I., one-fourth of the king's revenue from the Forest was derived from the re-smelted Roman refuse."²⁰

The workings of lead, tin and copper were equally extensive with those of iron. Pottery kilns have been discovered in the New Forest in Hampshire, in Somersetshire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire and Essex. The pottery is, however, of a coarser kind. Castor (*Durobrivæ*) near Peterborough is best known from its manufacture of pottery.

The so-called Samian ware, which derives its designation from the island whose name it bears, while made in Italy and Gaul, as well as on the Rhine, does not seem to have been manufactured in Roman Britain. It was much prized there, however, and native imitations of it appear to have been produced. "The finest examples" of the Samian ware "show a dense salmon coloured paste, the surface inside and out being covered by a thick glaze of rich coral red."²⁰

Bricks and tiles were extensively manufactured in Roman Britain. So too was plain and embossed glass of every kind; a great variety of vessels has been discovered in tombs. The manufacture of articles of jet also flourished. A large body of designers and workmen must have been employed in laying mosaic floors and painting the walls of rooms.

To say nothing of agriculture, sheep raising and kindred pursuits which were largely followed, mention will have to be made later of one or more other occupations of the Roman inhabitants of Britain. Large numbers of persons were employed in commerce, foreign and domestic, and in the usual avocations of town and country.

²⁰ Proceedings of The American Antiquarian Society, N. S., Vol. XIII (April, 1899-April, 1900.)

²¹ Short guide to the Silchester Collection, Reading, by G. E. Fox.

BUILDINGS AND WALLS.

It seems proper here to say a word about Roman construction of the walls of buildings. Wood seems to have been the usual building material, excepting for public halls, baths and fortifications. A common mode of construction appears to have been to build the lower portion only of a house of stone and upon this sub-structure to place strong timbers upright and near together. The heavy covering of roofs made it necessary that the supports should be strong. The spaces between the timbers were filled with clay mixed with chopped straw. In describing walls used in Roman Britain for various purposes, Mr. G. Baldwin Brown gives the following list:

“(1) The ‘opus quadratum,’ or construction with large square stones; (2) the massif of rubble concrete or ‘structura caementicia’ faced with small parallel-piped stones with or without binding courses of brick; (3) the ‘opus testaceum’ where the fabric or skin of a structure is of brick; (4) the plain wall of irregular stone-work with no special facing or technique; and finally (5) the light partition of wood-work and plaster.”³¹

OBJECTS FOUND.

More articles of bronze than of iron are found in Roman ruins in England, the latter metal corrodes so certainly. Comparatively few domestic utensils appear. Numerous querns or hand-mills, for grinding grain into flour just before using the latter, are turned up. So, too, are balances which are like our steelyards. Two large and interesting collections of tools were found at Silchester.

Surgical instruments made of bronze have been discovered. Great varieties of fibulæ, brooches, used in fastening the outer garment or cloak, are found in large numbers wherever Romans have lived. Quantities of finger rings of different shapes and sizes, some of excellent design, appear. Some of them have engraved stones remaining in them. Collars, necklaces and bracelets turn up in the excavations. Jet

³¹ *The Arts in early England*, by G. Baldwin Brown, Vol. II, p. 3.

ornaments are especially in evidence in the museum at York. Long pins of metal or bone are found in immense numbers. Occasionally fragments of stone statuary, and bronze images are unearthed.

Roman coins are found everywhere; there were native coins also. Money was coined in Britain before the Romans took possession of the island. Camulodunum and Londinium had the privilege of mints, and coins were struck elsewhere in the time of the Romans.

MUSEUMS.

There are many museums in England which have rich collections of Roman antiquities. The one in the British Museum is very valuable. At Shrewsbury, where, as stated before, there is a museum, the objects of interest dug up at Uriconium offer an imposing display. One of the most important collections is in the grounds and museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York. The articles found at Silchester have been deposited in the public museum at Reading. There they are admirably exhibited. Instructive models have been provided and a guide book has been prepared by the leading authority on the subject, Mr. George E. Fox, Honorary Curator.³²

There is an excellent museum at Colchester and a good one at Cirencester, and there are many other collections which may be readily found by the use of a good guide book of Great Britain.

WALLED TOWNS.

Among the principal walled towns of Roman England were Eboracum (York), the metropolis of the north and one of the first, if not the first, city in the country during the period of greatest Roman prosperity; Lindum (Lincoln), which has one of the most striking of Roman remains in Britain, in the presence there of the Newport Arch, which formed the north entrance to the town through the wall; Camulodunum (Colchester); Londinium (London); Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester); Venta Belgarum (Winchester);

³² See short list of authorities at the end of the paper.

Aquæ Solis (Bath); Glevum (Gloucester); Corinium (Cirencester); Uriconium (Wroxeter); Deva (Chester); Isca Silurum (Caerleon-on-Usk); and Venta Silurum (Caerwent).

The walls of Camulodunum are now under the control of the corporation of the city of Colchester, and Mr. Henry Laver, F. S. A., of that place has been appointed custodian of them. I had the pleasure of examining portions of the walls under his guidance. They are almost complete in circuit, although not so high as formerly. The casing too, of shaped stones and tiles on both sides is generally gone. Although in some places a portion remains there is usually found only the rubble, and mortar in which it is embedded. An increased thickness in the wall at one place was, it is likely, given to it to afford, as in other cities, a platform for catapults. An arched gate in the city walls remains. A room on the side of this shows walls in an excellent state of preservation. The casing exhibits alternate horizontal portions consisting of two feet of well-laid stones and four layers of tiles. The tiles, as is usual in the inner and outer faces of Roman walls in Britain, only extend through the facing. The venerable town of Colchester occupies a site which was not only the position of a Roman town but also furnished quarters for the King of the Trinobantes, 400 B. C. There are coins belonging to the town bearing date of 250 B. C.

London was not the first place in importance during the Roman occupation of Britain. Tacitus is said to be the first Roman historian to mention Londinium. He does not speak of it as the capital of Britain, or even as endowed with the privileges and rights of a colony or municipium. Camulodunum was a colony and Verulamium a municipium.

The walls, when the Romans left the country, reached from Ludgate, on the west, to the Tower, on the east, about one mile in length, and from London Wall to the Thames, half a mile; at an earlier period they were more confined.

It is unnecessary to say that the baths excavated at Aquæ Solis (Bath) are the most extensive and perfect yet discovered in Roman Britain.

The walls of Chester, although they contain material from those built earlier are not, as they now stand, of Roman construction. They are mediæval.

PLACES WHERE EXCAVATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE.

It is evident that it is impossible to make extensive excavations in thickly settled places such as London, York, Chester, Lincoln and Colchester. Reliance has to be placed mainly upon observations made when trenches for sewers, etc., and cellars are dug.

At Silchester and Wroxeter, however, the sites of the old Roman walled cities of *Calleva Atrebatum* and *Uriconium*, nearly the entire area formerly occupied by them is vacant.

At *Caerwent* (*Venta Silurum*) I understand that about three-quarters of the space within the walls is available for excavation. In these cities excavations of Roman towns have been more or less systematically conducted during the last fifty years. Those at *Uriconium* were made in 1859-1861 under the direction of Thomas Wright, M. A., F. S. A., for the Shropshire Antiquarian Society.

The site of *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester) is a portion of a farm on the estates of the Duke of Wellington in Hampshire. Some excavations had been made there earlier, but the real beginning of the exploration of the site took place about November, 1864, when Rev. James Gerald Joyce undertook its supervision, upon a plan accepted by the second Duke. That gentleman carried on the work from time to time until his death in 1878. It was then continued by rectors of Stratfieldsaye and Silchester and Mr. Hilton Price. An interval of five years followed, after which the work was renewed in 1890, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, the very competent direction of George Edward Fox, Esq., Hon. M. A., (Oxon.), F. S. A., and W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M. A., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, and the almost constant, immediate supervision of Mr. Mill Stephenson, an able antiquary and conductor of excavations. The trenching has been made in a most systematic manner every year

since it was resumed and the work will be finished, I understand, in about three years.

Excavations at Venta Silurum (Caerwent) were begun in August, 1899. They are conducted by competent directors, under the approval of the Society of Antiquaries, and the discoveries made are carefully reported in successive volumes of *Archaeologia*. It should be remarked that the excavations now making at Silchester and Caerwent are being conducted by gentlemen who are imbued with the spirit of men of science and their work is very thoroughly and accurately done and recorded.

At Silchester when an insula has been excavated and plans and measurements have been secured the ruins are covered up again. Such a course is required by the contract with the farmer who leases the site of the city, but it is also important for the preservation of the remains. That fact is shown by the disintegration of portions left exposed by the late Mr. Joyce. At Uriconium considerable portions of ruins remain in sight and even at Caerwent many foundations can be seen. It is rendered possible in the latter case to allow excavated remains to lie open for a longer time than at Silchester because so large portions of the ground are owned by Lord Tredegar, who takes a great interest in the work, or are controlled by him and the committee in charge.

URICONIUM.

The Roman remains thus far laid bare at Uriconium are shown clearly in Plan No. I. They consist of a fragment of the *basilica*; a little more than half of the great baths of the city; the foundations of two shops; and a courtyard surrounded on three sides by cells, with gateways to the street on the fourth. This courtyard, paved with small bricks laid herringbone fashion, has been considered a market-place, but Mr. George E. Fox, whose description of discoveries at Uriconium I am following closely, says that "a portion at least may have formed a fuel store for the baths, as both charcoal and mineral coal were found in one of the compartments."²³

²³ Guide to the Roman City of Uriconium by George E. Fox. pp. 9 and 10.

The fragment of the *basilica* is the most conspicuous object in the ruins. It consists of "a great mass of masonry of considerable length which stands high above all the rest of the remains. (See A. on Plan No. I.) This broken mass of wall formed a portion of the end of what was the largest building of the Roman city, viz.: the civil *basilica*, an edifice which contained both law courts and an exchange, and served also as a covered place of assembly for the citizens on public occasions. Of this great building (No. 1.) nothing now remains above ground except the bulky fragment just mentioned. The foundations however have been traced in the fields to the north of it, and we know this much, that it was a huge hall, 229 feet long and 67 feet wide, divided by two rows of columns into a central nave with aisles on either side. Mosaic pavements adorned the aisles, and the nave was floored with small bricks laid in herringbone fashion."³⁴ The Public Baths lay to the south of the *basilica*. Besides the rooms mentioned on the plan, namely, the vaulted *apodyterium* (undressing room) which was entered from the *basilica* or great hall on the north, by the doorway now represented by the large hole in the mass of walling at A; the *tepidarium* (room moderately warmed); the *sudatoria* (hot-air bath-rooms); the *caldaria* (rooms with hot-water baths) and *frigidarium* (room with cold-water bath), there were two little rooms (9-9)³⁵ floored with red bricks which were probably for keeping the articles required during the different processes of bathing.

A *strigil*, or curved metal instrument was used for removing perspiration, where we use a sponge and soap. "There may have been a swimming bath in 10, but this part of the ruins is buried beneath a huge mound of earth, and little is known concerning it. If we add that the courtyard of the baths was used for various games, and that the covered walks (*peristyles*)," which surrounded the entire enclosure containing the baths and their accompaniments, "served for

³⁴ Guide, p. 4.

³⁵ One of the two little rooms indicated as "9-9" is numbered "5" on Plan I. It has been suggested that the room marked 9 in the plan may have been used for the closing process of rubbing the bather with oil.

exercise and conversation, we have mentioned in brief the chief uses of the establishment."³⁶

It seems proper here to give a short account of the system of heating buildings among the Romans in Britain and for that purpose I introduce one of the descriptions of Mr. Fox. That system, he says, "was like one in use at the present day, viz.: by hot air, but was unlike our method which employs metal pipes through which the heated air passes, sunk in trenches in the floors, covered by gratings, or placed along the walls. Instead of this, in Roman times, little columns usually of brick, set very close together, were erected on a firm floor of cement, and on the top of these columns was laid another floor from five inches to one foot thick, so that there was a space between the two floors, called a *hypocaust*, which varied in height according to circumstances. In these baths at Uriconium, the little columns which supported the upper floor were more than three feet high. A small opening in the outer wall of the chambers allowed of the introduction of fuel, which when lighted and continually fed from without, filled all the space beneath the upper floor with flame and heat. Nor was this all; flue pipes communicating with this heating chamber ran up the walls, and the heat radiated from these pipes warmed the room. The flue pipes were sunk in the walls and plastered over, so that they could only be detected by the warmth spread around. In rooms which had to be extra heated the whole surface of the walls was lined by pipes, the heat being given out from the entire wall faces."³⁷

It will be seen by looking at the map of Uriconium (Plan No. 2.) that the ruins which have been uncovered occupied but a small portion of the area of the site of the city and that they stand near the middle of it. The walls surrounded a pear-shaped enclosure of about 170 acres. Their circuit was rather more than three miles. It thus appears that compared with the size of other walled towns in Roman Britain, Uriconium was a large place. Mr. Scarth says the city "seems only to have been fortified with

³⁶ Guide p. 6.

³⁷ Guide, pp. 7 and 8.

an earthen rampart and ditch."³⁸ Mr. J. Corbet Anderson writes that "Hartshorne estimated the vallum to have once been fifteen feet in height, but a recent excavation, made where it is most prominent, showed it to be raised only nine feet above the bottom of the ditch; the fosse was found to be ninety-five feet wide. Examined at various points it has been ascertained that this wall is formed merely of a bank of rubble, faced outwardly with a mass of clay, or of small stone boulders set in clay."³⁹ North-east of the city there was a cemetery, that bordered on the great Roman road, the Watling street, which entered the place from that direction. "Like other Roman towns" in Britain, "the area enclosed by the city wall was probably divided by streets into squares, much after the fashion of a modern American city, but of this we cannot be sure. It is possible the place sprung up along an ancient line of roadway leading to a frequented ford over the Severn, which river lines part of its western side. After a time the open town would be surrounded for defence by a ditch and wall."⁴⁰

We know nothing of the history of Uriconium, but, in an old Welsh poem there is a vivid description of the destruction of a city on the Welsh border which with great likelihood has been identified with the place under consideration. The statements in the poem when compared with a passage in the Saxon Chronicle make it not improbable that Uriconium was taken and demolished by Ceawlin in the year 584. "The period of the poem and of the raid coincide, and both have to do with the same district."⁴¹

"Be this as it may, one thing is certain, that the city and its inhabitants perished by fire and sword. Everywhere, when the earth which covers its remains is turned over, it is found to be black from the burning, and plain traces of the massacre of the citizens showed themselves when the ruins, amongst which the visitor strays, were excavated."⁴²

³⁸ Searth, p. 136.

³⁹ Anderson, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Guide, p. 11.

⁴¹ Guide, p. 12.

⁴² Guide, p. 12.

The name of the city whether Uriconium or Viriconium, has been supposed to be derived from the famous hill, or small mountain, Wrekin, near which it lies. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Librarian of the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, in a recent pamphlet, says that the name "'Uriconium' should be discarded altogether."⁴³ "The name Viriconium," he writes, "is Keltic with Latinized ending (-um for -on), and is a dog-name. It is derived from that of a man called Virocuo (gen.—kunōs—konos) or Viroconos, meaning 'man-hound' or 'male-hound.'"⁴⁴ I give this derivation of Mr. Nicholson without having the knowledge needed to weigh its correctness.

SILCHESTER.

The walls of Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum) are about a mile and a half in circuit and the space within them is 100 acres, which is a little less than two-thirds of the area of Pompeii. While it is a smaller place than Uriconium (Wroxeter) or Verulamium (St. Albans) it is a city of considerable size and compares favorably in that respect with other walled towns in Roman Britain.

The walls enclose an irregular octagon whose longest side is towards the northeast. They are twenty-one feet high near the south gate and elsewhere, and in other places ten or fifteen feet in height. They are about ten feet thick. "They are," says Mr. Fox, "of the usual construction of Roman city walls" in England "excepting that the tile courses, so prominent a feature in Roman camps and towns, are here supplied by lines of flat stones, and that the intermediate facing courses are laid here and there in herringbone fashion."⁴⁵ As Silchester is in a country where stone is scarce, pieces of flint, tied together with mortar are largely used in the facing of the walls. They are lined within throughout their entire circuit by an earthen mound, and inside also there occur at intervals what look like buttresses projecting inwards. These are

⁴³ Vinisius to Nigra, p. 43.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, page 10.

⁴⁵ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Feb. 27, 1890, p. 86 or p. 87.

regarded as the foundations of towers which stood astride the walls. The shape of the walls was influenced by the fact that the city was built inside of British earthworks which, with a ditch in front, encircled an early camp of refuge. Of those pre-Roman fortifications remains are still visible. The irregular plans of Silchester were shared by Uriconium and Verulamium, but were quite unlike the rectangular areas within the walls of Glevum (Gloucester), Camulodunum (Colchester) and Lindum (Lincoln) or the roughly rectangular space occupied by Venta Silurum (Caerwent). A wide ditch, clearly traceable for most of the circuit completes the defence of Silchester.

"The mural barrier is pierced by five gates, north, south, east and west. Two of these occur at the eastern angle of the city; one a mere postern, being evidently to give access to an amphitheatre situated about 300 feet east of the eastern angle of the city. This amphitheatre is formed of mounds of earth in the well known manner of those of Durnovaria (Dorchester) and Corinium (Cirencester) "⁴⁶ There, writes Mr. Fox, "for the townsfolds' pleasure, bull-baiting and bear-baiting were exhibited, possibly theatrical representations very occasionally, and yet more rarely combats of gladiators."⁴⁷

Silchester has sloping ground. The land is generally level, especially in the northern half of the site, and there is a broad flat ridge running from the north to the south gate; but on the east side of this ridge a deep valley extends from near the centre of the city in a south-easterly direction, and the ground also falls away somewhat in the south-western part of the site."⁴⁸

Within the ring of the walls are three fields traversed east and west by a comparatively modern road and the only buildings to be seen are the church of Silchester, the old Manor House, and those of a farm yard. All else is open and bare.

The Roman city had streets running from north to south and at right angles to them from east to west. One of

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Guide, pp. 6 and 7.

⁴⁸ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 27, 1890, p. 88.

them, a main line of communication, has a perfectly straight course from the north to the south gate, whilst another crosses it at right angles. Coming from the west gate it ran past *Insulae* XI., X., IX., I., XXI., and XXVII, but a discovery made in 1902 suggests that it was then so deflected as to pass out straight through the east gate, at right angles to the section of the wall in which the gate is set.

Little is known of the history of Silchester. A few facts can be gathered from examination of the remains.

It is evident, for example, that the *basilica* and the adjacent buildings were burnt down at one time and it is conjectured that this catastrophe occurred during commotions in the province towards the close of the third century.

Silchester, writes Mr. Fox, "Certainly was not taken by the Saxons, for there are no traces of the burning and massacre which would have accompanied such an event. All that can be surmised is that it gradually perished by slow decay and abandonment."⁴⁹ Such an ending makes the gleaning for objects of interest meagre, as things of value and use were carried off by inhabitants as they left the city or were appropriated by plunderers. In the main the dependence for discoveries of this kind must be upon rubbish pits and broken and discarded objects left behind. It is remarkable that so large and instructive a collection could be found as that on exhibition at the museum in Reading. It is believed that if Uriconium were to be systematically and extensively excavated our knowledge of Roman antiquities would be largely added to, since that place, as has been previously stated, was evidently destroyed suddenly and burned.

It is an interesting fact that a portion of the entrance at the west gate of Silchester is blocked up, the fact indicating that at some period in its history it felt its weakness and thus rendered it easier to defend the city. A similar expedient was resorted to at Caerwent.

The importance of Silchester as a city is attested by the number of roads on which it is found. "It stands at the point of junction of two main lines, one running up from

⁴⁹ *Guide*, p. 7.

the south coast, the other coming from Londinium, passing through Calleva (Silchester) towards Corinium and so on into Wales."⁶⁰ In the Itinera of Antonine the last four mentioned are: Silchester to Wroxeter; Caerleon-on-Usk to Silchester; Caerleon-on-Usk to Silchester, by another route; and Silchester to Exeter.

In every important Roman town the forum was the centre of life. There the events of the day and private concerns were discussed. The retail shop-keeper offered his goods for sale in the same place, frequently. Wholesale merchants met and transacted business. There revenues were paid into the treasury and justice was administered by magistrates.

Few forums have been uncovered, however. A fine example may be seen at Pompeii. The only one that has been excavated in England is the forum of Silchester. Taking the text of Vitruvius as our guide, writes Mr. Joyce, "we are met by the very singular paradox that at Pompeii, where a forum of the Greek type would almost of necessity be the one adopted, we find a distinctly Latin one and contrariwise at Silchester where we should assuredly have looked for a purely Latin forum, we have a most marked and distinct example of the Greek type. At Pompeii the length of the area is not less than three and a half times its width, and a single colonnade runs the whole length of its sides. At Silchester, the plan, though not absolutely square, is very nearly so, and this square-shaped area is surrounded on its three exterior sides by the double ambulatory."⁶¹

The researches of Mr. Joyce, made in 1867 to 1873 have been carefully reconsidered by the gentlemen who are at present engaged in supervising the excavations at Silchester. I proceed to quote from a report of their work published in *Archaeologia*.

"The *forum* proper consists of an open area about 142 feet long from north to south, by 130 feet wide from east to west. On three sides, north, east, and south, this

⁶⁰ Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 27, 1890, p. 86.

⁶¹ *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLVI., Pt. II., p. 350.

area is lined by ambulatories the western side is bounded by the wall of the basilica and here the ambulatory is wanting. Behind the ambulatories, and sheltered by them, lay a line of chambers, mostly rectangular in plan, with some amongst them possibly differing from that form. External to all comes another ambulatory, which surrounds not only the whole but the basilica and its dependencies, being broken, however, by projections of the north and south ends of the latter building. Thus it will be seen that the various offices and chambers of the forum lie between two lines of ambulatories, an inner and an outer one. The walls of these ambulatories were, presumably, supported by columns.¹⁶ The main entrance into the forum was a feature in its architecture and resembled a triumphal arch. The chambers on the north and east side of the forum were circular in plan. On the south side were two apsidal chambers alternating with square ones. It is very probable that these rooms were used by the governing body of the city as offices or as a senate and in rooms connected with the forum. The walls of the ranges of buildings on the three sides of the forum were of fine rubble bonded with brick and varying in thickness from two feet three inches to three feet seven inches. They were quite capable of supporting an upper story, as well as the heavy roof, which was covered either by large Roman tiles or by irregular stone slabs.

The basilica, its north and south end occupies the whole width of the forum. Its eastern wall bounded the forum and its western wall was lined by a range of chambers and halls which were located on the south of the outer ambulatory that here crosses the great street running from the north to the south gate of the city. The basilica had the form of a long rectangle, 260 feet 5 inches in length by 35 feet 10 inches in width and was a semi-circular apse, 37 feet 5 inches wide by 15 feet 2 inches deep. The total internal length of the edifice amounted therefore to 269 feet 10 inches. On the corner of the western side was an oblique apse 35 feet wide.¹⁷ As stated before the basilica

¹⁶ This is not a certain fact.

¹⁷ According to the plan of the city.

was burnt down. It was rebuilt, however, and, as it seems, on the former lines, the original plan not having been departed from excepting in the interior where alterations were made.

As in the case of the ranges of chambers in the forum, and the other important buildings in the city, the walls of the *basilica* consisted of flint rubble with binding and lacing courses of tiles. The interior appears to have been divided into a nave and aisles. "Each of the smaller apses, with a portion of the nave and aisles screened off in front of it, may have served the purpose of a court of justice; the central one, with a screen on the top line of its steps of ascent, as a *Curia* for the governing body of the city, and the space in front of it . . . as a place of assembly of the citizens on occasions of political importance."⁶⁴

The type of the private houses in Roman Britain was very different from the one which prevails in Southern Europe. Protection in the north had to be secured from damp and cold; in the south from light and heat. The atrium of the Pompeiian house with its open *compluvium* in the roof and cistern of water, *impluvium*, in the floor, was out of place in the climate of Britain. There, rooms had to be arranged for the cold season and numerous hypocausts provided under apartments to be occupied in winter.

Generally speaking, nothing but foundations of buildings are found in Silchester. These are always of rubble composed of flint and mortar. It is generally believed that the mortar used by the Romans in Britain became as hard as stone. That is so commonly the case as not to make a statement to that effect especially misleading. Mr. Mill Stephenson informed me, however, last summer that he finds much mortar that crumbles easily. There was cheating in Britain when the Romans were there as certainly as there is to-day, everywhere. I have already described the character of the walls of houses as seen throughout Roman Britain.

In Silchester we find the low dwarf walls of flint masonry, remnants of floors, a layer of clay from the falling in of the

⁶⁴ Ibid., page 553.

superstructure, (thick in the loftier rooms and thin in the low corridors) the latter strewn with fragments of the broken roofs. As the walls of the earlier houses there were 18 inches thick, the wooden framing must have been of substantial construction and formed of large timbers, since the door frames and their sills all formed part of it.

"The roof coverings of the houses were of three kinds, viz.:—thatch, tile and stone. The stone roofing was cut in thin slabs, hexagonal in shape, lapping over each other like fishes' scales. . . . The tiles were large and flat with a strongly raised edge on each side. They were nailed close together and these raised edges were covered by semi-circular tiles narrower at the upper end but broadening towards the bottom."⁵⁵

"The houses of Silchester may generally speaking be divided into two classes, viz.:—those with a courtyard and those consisting of a row of chambers lined by a corridor on one or both sides. To this second kind, as well as to the first, chambers are sometimes irregularly attached. In a range of chambers with corridors on both sides the former must have been lighted from windows placed above the latter. "The height of the windows from the floor was no disadvantage," however, "as windows," at the time and in the place spoken of, "were only intended to transmit light, and were not meant for looking through."⁵⁶ Window glass was "rough like ground glass" on one side, "and it appears that it was cast in panes of varying size in moulds. . . . These panes were set in frames of wood or metal, held in the rabbet prepared for them, by buttons. It is possible that they may have been occasionally puttied into the frames."⁵⁷

"The floors of the houses in Silchester were largely of mosaic or *opus signinum*. "There are two kinds of mosaics; the one, coarse and common, composed of cubes of brick or of a drab sandstone, and measuring a little over an inch square, is used for corridors and passages, or as a ground for panels of finer work. In the second kind the cubes

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

are not more than half an inch square, and are of various colors, black, cut from a sandstone from the south of England; white, from quarries of fine limestone in Gloucestershire or from beds of the hard chalk in the Isle of Purbeck; grey, produced from the white by the action of fire; a deep orange also from a sandstone; a pale yellow and two shades of red from brick. The only marble used is the Purbeck, and it may here be observed that no Roman mosaics" in Britain, "with rare exceptions, contain material drawn from any foreign source."⁵⁸ Should it be noticed that the pavements in Britain do not show quite the same elegance as the best in the south of Europe, the fact may probably be largely accounted for by the consideration that the coarser materials of the British mosaics did not permit of the same nicety of workmanship which is possible in marble.

In a few cases an imitation of the kind of pavement known as *opus sectile* has been found in Silchester in which tiles are used in place of cut stones, and spaces between have been filled with cubes after the manner of *opus tessellatum*. "The construction of the tessellated pavements followed a scarcely varying rule. . . . On the earth was laid a bed of coarse gravelly mortar, 4 to 5 inches thick, and upon this a layer of fine *opus signinum*, of the kind made of lime cement colored with pounded brick, the *tessarae* of the floors being inserted in this second layer."⁵⁹ A thin fluid cement was run into the joints of the *tessarae* before the final polishing took place.

"*Opus signinum*, or the variety of it used for pavements has scarcely attracted," it has been said, "the attention it deserves. Floors of this material, composed of small pieces of brick, together with tiny fragments of volcanic ash, the whole bound by a lime cement, are of as common, if not commoner, occurrence in Pompeii than those composed of tessellated work. Nor are they confined to the meaner rooms of the houses there; very frequently the composition named forms a ground in which are bedded lines of white marble *tessarae* arranged in elaborate geomet-

⁵⁸ Guide, pp. 12 and 13.

⁵⁹ *Archaeologia*, Vol. LII., Pt. II, p. 736.

rical patterns. The more usual method, however, when it was intended to enrich such a floor was to embed in it, in quite irregular fashion, any small fragments of the much prized varieties of marbles or rare alabasters. Pieces of pavements of the rarer *opus sectile* are thus used up again, the broken fragments of the flat tile-like hexagons, circles and squares, of which they were composed, being embedded in the mass of the floor."⁶⁰

There was very little architectural adornment in the houses of Silchester. "Here and there a large hall was divided by a couple of columns, or columns supported the entrance of apses. They were employed to give dignity to the entrance of the house from the street. In houses of the full courtyard type, where the courtyard is surrounded by corridors on all sides, the corridor roofs may have been supported by small columns standing on a dwarf wall, giving the enclosure almost the look of a mediæval cloister.

. . . But the glory of the houses was in their profuse colouring."⁶¹ From fragments of wall plasters of rooms turned up in different places it appears that the principal ornamentation of the walls consisted of simple panelled work "formed of lines in different colours on variously coloured grounds,"⁶² prevailing tints were reds and yellows derived from the ochres.

The dividing lines between the panels not infrequently had ornamentation of various kinds. Decoration was not confined, however, to mere lines of one colour on another coloured ground. In one house, for instance, where painted ornamental forms were found, there were traces of "golden-coloured draperies and imitations of yellow and grey marbles, no doubt suggested by the marble wall linings of important buildings."⁶³ Architectural forms and floral and other ornaments were pictured on the walls. "It is worth noting . . . the use made of ears of barley, which the sight of the harvest fields round the Roman city suggested to the painter. Not only are ears of barley represented, but

⁶⁰ *Archæologia*, Vol. LII., Pt. II. p. 749.

⁶¹ *Guide*, pp. 11 and 12.

⁶² *Archæologia*, Vol. LII., Pt. II. p. 739.

⁶³ *Archæologia*, Vol. LII., Pt. II., p. 739.

also the flowers so often found growing among the corn, the corn-cockle, if, indeed, the dull blue quatre-foil placed above the grey circle and repeated below it may be taken for this flower. As the painters of southern Europe drew their decorative forms from the flora around them, from the vine, the myrtle, and the acanthus, so also did the artists"⁶⁴ of the northern island of Britain. "Likewise to be noted is the strong similarity in the technical methods practised in Silchester and in Italy. After the walls had received the finishing coat of plaster, the setting-out lines of the decoration were drawn upon the surface of the wall with some sharp instrument, probably a *stylus*. The ground colours were then applied, and the incised lines showing through them served as guides for the application of the ornamentation." As the incised lines are found "filled by the ground colour, they must have been incised in the plaster surface before it received any colouring. This process appears to have been used in decorative painting in Pompeii."⁶⁵

The rooms in the better class of houses in Silchester, with floors of mosaic or *opus signinum* and walls bright with colour and attractive through other decoration, must have been cheerful abodes. From all that we know, we cannot but believe the homes of the Romans in Britain were centres of culture and refinement. Although examples of the fine arts found in Silchester and elsewhere are not indicative of the highest attainments in such directions, they show taste and knowledge.

The houses are very generally placed along the streets inclosing *insulæ*, or blocks. Sometimes they stand at an angle to the streets. The *insulæ* in a few cases are surrounded by walls. In the spaces between the houses are found a number of wells and numerous rubbish pits. A portion of these are latrines. It is in the pits that most of the smaller objects discovered at Silchester are found. The water supply of the city came from the wells. The water does not lie anywhere at a greater depth than eighteen

⁶⁴ *Archæologia*, Vol. LV., Pt. 1. p. 249 or 250.

⁶⁵ *Archæologia*, Vol. LV., Pt. I, p. 249 or 250.

... thus appears, were shallow. . . . thick bed of gravel into a layer . . . and rests in turn upon a bed of . . . from collapsing it was found . . . of the well with wood."⁶⁶ . . . framing of three or four courses . . . thickness, one barrel, and some . . . into the well, or the wooden . . . and thus formed a reservoir . . . of water rose. . . . The barrels . . . and vent-peg holes have certainly . . . other purpose before being sunk in the . . . storing oil or wine, for their length . . . possibility of their having been trans- . . . "The mouths of the wells were . . . wooden platforms with a hole for the . . . and no doubt above it the necessary . . . at least a stone platform was found. . . . were extremely small. They appear . . . but so many remains of them have been . . . that there can be no doubt of their use."⁶⁸ . . . of a Roman force pump was found in a . . . of one of the largest houses. . . . were well provided as regards food sup- . . . and sheep. The pig was also to be found . . . Of birds little can be said. . . . animals the horse is scantily represented; the . . . dogs are constantly found, of various breeds and . . . some skulls of the common cat have been brought . . . pits. All the animals were much smaller . . . of the present day."⁶⁹ Human remains are . . . in the extreme."⁷⁰ . . . regarded to the preparation of food, "a large iron grid . . . meat, with a ring in the middle to hold a vessel . . . soup or gravy" has been dug up, "but beyond

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶⁷ *Archæologia*, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 123 or 124.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 15.

this we find but few other indications of the culinary art. This however is not the case as regards cereals for food, wheat, barley, oats, etc. . . . The flat querns consisting of two discs of stone, the lower convex on its upper surface, the upper concave on its lower surface; and neither of them of any great thickness, are" as stated before "to be found everywhere where Roman remains are discovered No ovens of the Roman period are known, at least none have been discovered in Britain. We are therefore driven to suppose that if anything in the shape of bread was eaten by the inhabitants, it may have resembled the girdle cake of Scotland or the cakes may have been baked in an iron portable oven beneath hot ashes."⁷¹

"As to artificial lighting, there was no public lighting. The illuminant used was probably tallow or wax instead of oil. Olive oil in the Roman period must have been a somewhat costly import, and the extreme scarcity of the remains of oil lamps upon the site and in Britain generally favours the view that candles of the substance named were used in place of it. Candlesticks are constantly found, more especially of terra cotta."⁷² Some of the few lamps found are of small size. "It is quite possible that such lamps were attached to the domestic shrines and lit on special occasions before the household gods."⁷³

Mr. Fox believes that Silchester had its special trade. Over all the north west side of the city, he says, dyeing was carried on. Traces of the furnaces of the dye vats appear. "Over them buildings of a temporary character must have been erected . . . Besides the dyers' furnaces traces of their ware-houses have been uncovered, lining the road from the west gate towards the Forum. It seems possible that the trade was a late introduction into the town, and that private houses may have stood where the dyers afterwards had the ground to themselves."⁷⁴

It may properly be remarked here that in examining the foundations of houses unearthed at Silchester it becomes

⁷¹ Guide, pp. 15 and 16.

⁷² Guide, p. 16.

⁷³ Guide, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Guide, p. 17.

evident that extensive changes were made from time to time in those structures.

"Two other industries," says Mr. Fox, "if such they can be called, have left a trace behind them—that of carving in bone and of extracting silver from copper."⁷⁶

Among the structures early laid bare in Silchester was a large building, spoken of at first as cavalry barracks, but now regarded as the remains of an inn (*hospitium*). Attached to it were baths. The excavators were reluctant to pronounce these, or other baths found, as the principal establishment for bathing in so large a city as Silchester. In 1903 they discovered what they believe to be that establishment, in *Insula XXXIII*, which adjoins *Insula VIII*, where the remains of the *hospitium* and annexed baths are to be found.

In an *insula* to the south of the Forum area is an interesting building which is regarded as a temple. The foundations consist of two concentric rings or footings of slatey stone. On these were built walls forming a sixteen-sided polygon. While the inner wall showed sixteen faces corresponding with those of the outer wall on the outside it was circular within. The diameter of the internal ring is 35 feet 7 inches. The width between the two rings is 9 feet 6 inches. The length of each side of the polygon measured, on the external faces of the outer ring, 12 feet 8 inches. The total diameter of the temple is about 65 feet.⁷⁸ "In all probability," says Mr. Hilton Price, "this was an open building, as no remains of roofing slabs have been discovered."⁷⁷ An ambulatory ran around the outside of the building. To what god was this structure dedicated? There is nothing to help us solve the question. The late Mr. James Fergusson considered it to have been a *Serapeum*.⁷⁸ Mr. Price says that "taking into consideration its circular form, it may be open to supposition that the goddess Vesta might have been worshipped there."⁷⁹ There is however

⁷⁶ Guide, p. 17.

⁷⁷ *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIV., Pt. I, p. 75.

⁷⁸ *Archaeologia*, Vol. L., Pt. II, p. 267 or 268.

⁷⁹ *Archaeologia*, Vol. L., Pt. II, p. 267 or 268.

⁸⁰ *Archaeologia*, Vol. L., Pt. II, p. 267 or 268.

a conjecture which is more of a favorite. "The building stands in an important position, with ample space about it and its great ring of 32 columns must have had an imposing effect. We know from the well-known inscription found at Silchester in 1745, that there was a local deity, identified with Hercules, who was worshipped" in that city. "Perhaps we may venture on a conjecture that his temple has been found and that here was the shrine of the Segontian god."⁸⁰

Near the eastern gate of the city are two rectangular buildings separated by a distance of about 50 feet. Those, it is thought, were probably "temples, as buildings have been found in Gaul of similar or nearly similar plan undoubtedly devoted to the service of the gods."⁸¹

In finishing the account of excavations at Silchester, mention must be made of the remains of a building found in the southeastern corner of the area in which the *forum* and *basilica* stood. There were found the foundations of what is believed to have been a small Christian church. "The building stood east and west, and consisted of a central portion" (nave) "29½ feet long and 10 feet wide, with a semi-circular apse at the west end. North and south of this were two narrow aisles, only five feet wide, terminating westward in somewhat wider chambers or quasi-transsepts; the northern of these was the chamber first discovered, and was cut off from the aisle by a thin partition wall. The eastern end of the building was covered by a porch" (narthax) "24 feet 3 inches long and 6 feet 9 inches deep, extending the whole width of the three main divisions. The total external length was exactly 42 feet. The walls average two feet in thickness, and were built of flint rubble with tile quoins."⁸² The building was "orientated with its apse towards the west. The floor was laid with a pavement of red tile tesserae about an inch square, but in the centre of the apse was a square space in which was a mosaic pattern, the date of which, from a comparison with other

⁸⁰ *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIV., Pt. I, p. 209.

⁸¹ *Archaeologia*, Vol. LII., Pt. II, p. 747.

⁸² *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIII., Pt. II, p. 563.

Roman mosaics, is estimated in the report in *Archaeologia*" (Vol. LIII, p. 563) "as the fourth century A. D."⁸³ Over the mosaic altar, at first a wooden table, probably, was placed. "The celebrant stood during mass behind the altar, and facing eastwards, this eastern position being the essential thing, and not the position of the altar within a building. The clergy were arranged in a semi-circle round the apse behind the celebrant, and the deacons stood in front and on either side. The chorus of singers occupied the western part of the nave."⁸⁴

Before writing this paper I collected material for treating the subject of religion in Roman Britain, with especial reference to the existence there of Christianity. The paper is long enough already, however, and the contemplated treatment of that subject must be deferred. Probably it is better that it should be, as it would seem well to join with it a consideration of the state of Christianity among the Britains after the Romans left the country and among their conquerors before the coming of Augustine. I also had it in mind to present such evidence as exists regarding the Romanization of the Britains by the Romans during their occupation of the country and regarding the influence of the latter upon the Anglo Saxons and later occupants of the country. These purposes also must be put off, but, meantime, it may be said that enough is known to make the statement of the late Mr. Edward A. Freeman in regard to the insignificance of Roman influence upon the successors of the Romans in Britain appear very extravagant.

It was necessary in writing of the subject of this essay to give a considerable amount of preliminary and somewhat elementary information. While trying to bring this up to date I have deliberately made great omissions and have treated such subjects as have been touched upon only in outline. The essay is in fact little more than a mosaic of descriptions from authorities: its merit consists mainly in condensation, selection and arrangement by a person

⁸³ *The Arts of Early England*, v. 2, pp. 11 and 12.

⁸⁴ *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIII, Pt. II, p. 563.

who had made a somewhat thorough study of the general subject of Roman antiquities in Britain and its literature. Attached to the paper is a short bibliography, which will enable the inquirer to study Roman antiquities in England thoroughly and in detail. The subject is interesting and important.

The value which the Romans placed upon the possession of Britain is shown by the strenuous efforts which they made to get the country into their hands and maintain their position there. Distinguished generals such as Aulus Plautius, Suetonius, Paulinus and Theodosius, father of Theodosius the Great, took part in the work. So did the great governor Agricola.

To say nothing of the invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar before he became a sovereign, several emperors engaged in the work of conquest and pacification. Claudius began it; Severus rendered great service in the subjugation of the country, dying as has been already stated at York; and Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, helped to maintain the authority of the empire. Hadrian also visited Britain. It was Vespasian's distinguished successes in Britain which, it is said, won for him the favor of the Roman people and led to his being eventually clad in the imperial purple. His son Titus acquired fame in Britain before he became emperor. Finally Constantine the Great, it will be recalled, when his father, the Emperor Constantius, was in command in the country, fought under him in a short campaign against the Picts and was proclaimed emperor in its capital. Observe too, hints of the presence in Britain of his son the Emperor Constans.

A SHORT WORKING LIST OF MODERN BOOKS WHICH CAN BE
ADVANTAGEOUSLY USED IN STUDYING IN DETAIL SUBJECTS
BRIEFLY TREATED IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

References are not given to authors who in the Roman period made allusions to Britain nor to early English writers such as Gildas and Bede. Nor are they made to such inquirers as Leland, Camden and Horsley, who although later, are still old. Pertinent extracts from all these writers

are made in more modern works and sufficiently considered there to meet the demands of inquirers who are not specialists.

Reference may be made, if desired, to:

Notitia dignitatum omnium, tam civilium quam militarium, Imperii Romani, ex nova recens. P. Libbe. Venetiis, 1729, fo. (containing with other information what might be called The Army list of the Roman Empire).

Burton, William. A commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary, or journies of the Roman empire, so far as it concerneth Britain, London, 1658.

Monumenta Historica Britannica, published by the Record Commission, in 1848.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum, published by the Royal Academy of Berlin, Vol. 7. Other inscriptions found in Britain are published by the same society in its *Additamenta*.

The chief sources of information are the Archæological journals: namely,

The Journal of the British Archæological Association, 1st series, 50 volumes; 2d series, 11 volumes; volumes giving accounts of places visited by the Society.

The Archæological Journal (organ of the Royal Archæological Institute of great Britain and Ireland), 62 vols., and volumes describing places visited by the Society.

Archæologia (organ of the Society of Antiquaries of London), 59 volumes.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. (*Archæologia* contains detailed reports of the work of Mr. Joyce and others at Silchester and the official annual reports of the investigations now making at that place and at Caerwent. It also contains long papers suggested by the excavations at Silchester).

Proceedings of the British Academy for the promotion of historical, philosophical and philological studies, now in its second volume.

Proceedings and other publications of local historical and archæological societies. For mention of these societies, see *The Year-book of the scientific and learned societies of Great Britain and Ireland* of which the 22d annual issue

was published in 1905 by Charles Griffin & Co., Limited, London.

One or two articles in the archæological journals which it seems well to refer to are:

Guest, Edwin. The Four Roman Ways, *Archæological Journal*, v. 14, p. 99 et seq.;

Watkin, W. Thompson. Roman Forces in Britain, a paper read to the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1873. Also supplement in v. 5.

An interesting and comprehensive summary of Roman history and antiquities in Britain and one which I have used extensively in writing my paper is:

Scarth, Rev. H. M., M. A., *Roman Britain*. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Other good historical summaries are:

Elton, Charles Isaac. *Origins of English History*. London, 1882, and the chapters on Roman History in Britain in Hodgkin; Thomas. *The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest*. London, 1906.

I make no mention of standard histories, such as that of Mommsen. I call attention to the following books:

Bruce, J. Collingwood, *The Roman Wall*. 3d edition. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1867.

Smith, Charles Roach. *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lymne in Kent*. London, 1850. A very good little pamphlet called, *A Short Account of the Records of Richborough*, by W. D. Morgate, Keble's Gazette office, is sold at Richborough. I mention this fact as it is hard to get Mr. Smith's book.

There is an article on *The Roman Coast Fortresses of Kent* in the *Archæological Journal* of December, 1896.

There are interesting illustrations of the walls at Pevensey (Anderida) in the *Builder* of Dec. 16, 1905.

Mr. Smith is an authority on Roman London, also.

The pamphlet on the Roman Villa of Chedworth, which also contains a catalogue of the contents of the museum, and which is sold at the ruins, is by Professor Buckman and Robert W. Hall and was printed in Cirencester by W. C. Coles, Steam Press, St. John Street.

The Roman remains of the villa in Lydney Park are described by C. W. King.

MacCaul, Rev. J. Britanno-Roman inscriptions, with critical notes. Toronto, 1863.

Kenrick. Historical Notes of the 9th and 6th Legions, York, 1867.

Watkin, W. T. Roman Lancashire, 1883.

Buckman, James, and Newmarch, C. H. Illustrations of the remains of Roman art in Cirencester, the site of ancient Corinium. London, 1850.

Wellbeloved, Charles. Eboracum or York under the Romans. York, 1842.

A hand-book of the Antiquities in the grounds and museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Eighth edition. York: John Sampson, Publisher, Coney Street, 1891. That is a very useful publication.

Wright, Thomas. Uriconium, London, 1872.

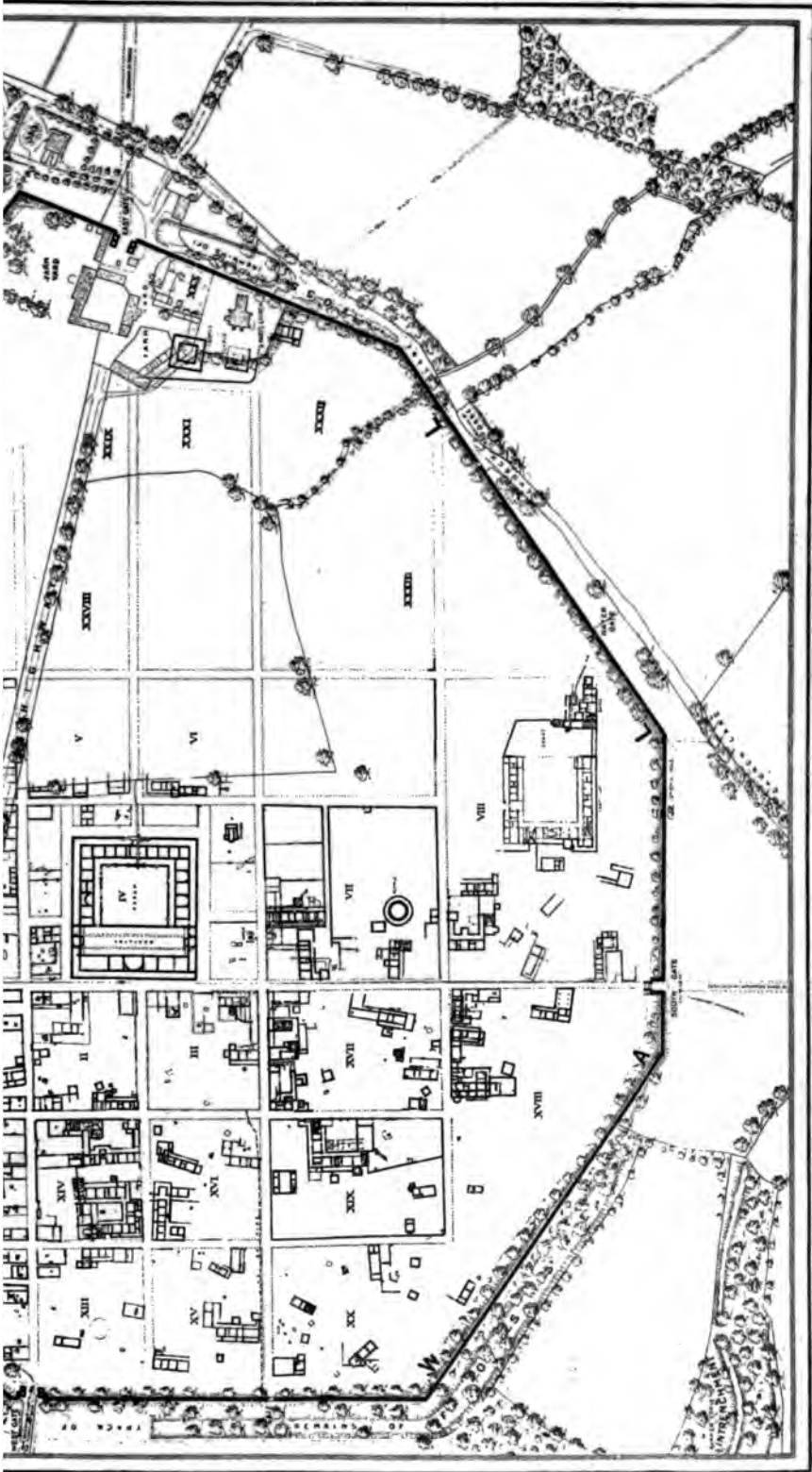
Anderson, J. Corbet. The Roman City of Uriconium. London: J. Russell Smith, Soho Square, 1867.

Fox, George E. A guide to the Roman city of Uriconium at Wroxeter, Shropshire, Shrewsbury: Published for the Shropshire Archæological Society, and printed by Adnitt and Naunton, The Square, 1901.

That is a pamphlet sold at the ruins and is an admirable epitome by a scholar of unquestioned knowledge. I have used it, and anything else which I know to be by Mr. Fox, largely, in preparing the foregoing paper. It is illustrated by a plan and map.

A similar epitome by Mr. Fox may be found for Silchester in a Short Guide to the Silchester Collection, second edition, which is sold at the Reading Public Museum. This also contains an admirable annotated catalogue of the collection, by Mr. Fox.

S. Victor White & Co., Balgrave St., Reading, have published a long list of photographic views of Silchester. They also sell lantern slides of the views. They claim to take a new series of photographs every year under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries. I have no doubt that the claim is warranted for copies of the list were given to me at the



ruins and the pictures were spoken of highly by Mr. Fox and Mr. Stephenson.

As may have been surmised before, the principal source of information about Silchester (and the same may be said of Caerwent) is the reports and articles in *Archaeologia*.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CROSS SYMBOL.

BY WILLIAM H. HOLMES.

The symbol of the cross has especial interest for the Christian world, because of the use of a cross of wood in the crucifixion of Christ; and many forms of the symbol, with varying associations and interpretations, came into use among the various Christian nations as the centuries passed. But the cross as a religious symbol in one form or another came into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era—so far beyond the beginnings of history, indeed, that there is not the least possibility of obtaining definite knowledge of its earliest origin, although significant suggestions may be obtained from a study of the employment of the device among the primitive peoples of to-day.

The cross was in very general use in America at the time of the discovery, but even among the more advanced aboriginal peoples, as those of Mexico and Peru, its history is so enwrapped in the web of obscurity woven by the changing centuries that we cannot hope to penetrate to the very beginnings. But among the more primitive tribes we approach the simpler stages of religious development and of sacred forms and get glimpses that have a suggestive bearing on actual beginnings. It is observed, however, that the cross, even with such peoples, has numerous forms, divers meanings, and, without question, a diversity of origins. As it appears in primitive art, the cross may be: (1) Simply a sign or mark conveying or recording an idea, as in pictography; (2) an ornament pure and simple, arising in the technique of the arts, or

invented as an embellishment; (3) a sacred symbol, arising through the association with it of religious concepts.

(1) The figure of the cross appears frequently in the pictographic art of the aborigines, where it represents animal and vegetal forms, as the bird, the dragon-fly, the tree, etc., or the cosmic bodies, as the sun and the stars; and in this use it usually conveys, or has associated with it, ideas of a simple non-symbolic kind. But the creature represented may be a mythical personage, and the cosmic



Figure 1. Hopi basket tray showing ornamental use of bird figures forming a cross; each bird figure also takes the form of the cross. The birds in this case may really represent the rain makers of the four quarters.

body may be a deity, and the cross figures may stand for these and thus be symbolic. In this use, however, the device would be local or special rather than general in its application, and thus would hardly develop into a religious symbol of wide or universal distribution.

(2) Distinct from crosses derived from the pictographic use of life and cosmic originals is a large class of crosses and cross-like figures which have an adventitious origin, being the result of the mechanical requirements of embellishment. In nearly all branches of art in which surface ornament is an important factor, the spaces available for decorative designs are rectangles, circles, and ovals, or are borders or zones which are divided into squares or parallelograms for ready treatment. When simple figures—symbolic or non-symbolic—are filled into these spaces, they are introduced, not singly, since the result would be

unsatisfactory from the point of view of the decorator, nor in pairs, as that would be little better, but in fours, thus filling the spaces evenly and symmetrically. This quadruple arrangement in a multitude of cases produces a cross (Figure 1) which is not always to be distinguished from the true cross symbol. The separate elements in such pseudo-crosses may be figures of men, insects, mountains, clouds, lodges, or what not, and hence separately they may have symbolic association; but the cross produced



Figure 2. Swastika cross formed adventitiously in decorating a basket (Pima) with the current scroll-fret.

by their assemblage in an ornamental form is an accident, and not significant, having a purely decorative function, although meanings suggested to the native mind by such forms may at any stage become associated with them. Again, in very many cases, designs are invented by the primitive decorator who fills the available spaces, to beautify articles manufactured, and arrangement in fours is the most natural and effective that can be devised (Figure 2). These figures, primarily non-significant, may also have meanings read into them by the woman as she works the stitches of her basketry or beadwork, and these ideas may be wholly distinct from those associated with the cross through any other source. Although any of these crosses may thus become religious symbols, it is not probable that a symbol of general distribution and uniform significance could originate in this way.

(3) It is observed that primitive man generally adjusts himself to his environment, real or imaginary, by keeping in mind the cardinal points, as he understands them. When the Indian considers the world about him, he thinks of it as divided into the four quarters, with himself at the centre or intersection; and when he communicates with the mysterious beings and powers with which his imagination peoples it—the rulers of the winds and the rains—he turns his face to the four directions, in prescribed order, and

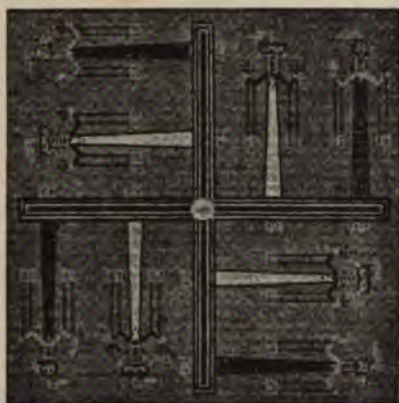


Figure 3. Cross in colored sands. Navaho curing ceremony.

makes to them his appeals and his offerings. It is of vital importance to the primitive man, that he shall not lose his bearings among the influences and beings that surround him, and determine his welfare and destiny. Thus, not only his worship and his ceremonials, but his architecture, his games, his healing rites, his burials, etc., are arranged to conform with the cardinal points, and the various symbolic representations associated with them are arranged in four parts, the separating lines taking the form of the cross. This was and is true of many peoples and is well illustrated in the wonderful ceremonials and paintings of the tribes of the arid region (Figure 3). Although an essential part of symbolism, these crosses exist only for the purposes of the occasion and are effaced when the ceremony

is ended... Nevertheless, they find a prominent place in art and pass into permanent form as decorations of ceremonial objects, retaining their significance and performing their imaginary functions indefinitely. The temple, the altar, the basket, the vase, the shield, the gaming device, fulfill their respective sacred offices through the symbols after which they are modeled, or with which they are decorated, only when properly related to the deities of the four quarters to which the symbols pertain. In the ancient Pueblo



Figure 4. Ancient Pueblo bowl with cross of the four quarters.

bowl shown in Figure 4 the cross is a prominent feature of the design, but, as in the sand painting, it appears to be nothing more than the dividing lines for the four scroll water symbols of the interspaces, which doubtless represent such of the gods of the world-quarters as were supposed to be concerned with the function of the vessel, the filling of which depended on the god-given supply of water.

The Maya, the most highly cultured of the North American tribes, called the cross "the tree of the rains," and the elaborate tree-like crosses in the ancient manuscripts and on sculptured tablets (Figure 5) probably represent merely a higher symbolic development and a more artistic treatment of the cross of the Pueblo bowl where the four arms serve simply to orient the gods of the waters.

The ceremonies of the less cultured tribes also embody the quadruple arrangement of the mythical environments. "The rainmaker (of the Lenape), when he would invoke the gods of the air to send the fertilizing showers down upon

the crops, would begin his exercises by first drawing upon the ground the figure of the cross." By this means he properly related himself to the deities to which his appeal was made. (Brinton, *The Museum*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 19.)

In this primitive use the cross had no necessary significance of its own; it served merely to relate properly the gods of the world-quarter regions to the ceremony with which they were connected. It is not in its origin, therefore, a sacred symbol, but an indicator of relations. The sacred

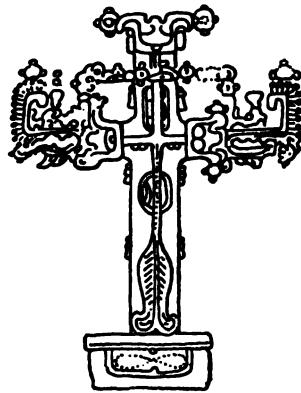


Figure 5. Mayan cross or "tree of the waters," from a Palenque altar tablet.

attributes belong to the deities supposed to occupy the four directions or regions; but the transfer of this sacred significance from the imaginary personages of the four quarters to the figure which locates them in the universe would seem to be a natural and an easy process, and there can be little doubt that, with primitive peoples generally, this was a common occurrence.

This explanation of the cross symbol among primitive peoples leads to the suggestion that the device among the more cultured peoples of the world may also have had its origin in the orientation of the mysterious powers of the universe, as these were understood in very ancient times; and many facts gleaned from the study of widely distributed nations tend to confirm this view.

In China, according to Seymour,¹ "the *lao-tsen*, as the cross is called, is acknowledged to be one of the most ancient devices, known long anterior to the Sakya-Buddha era. . . . It symbolizes heaven."

Among the Japanese, Tartars, Persians, and others the cross is associated with, and is the symbol of royalty and of the supreme deities.²

The cross patté is supposed by many to have typified the elysium of the four great gods of the Assyrians—Ra and the first Triad.³

"When the officiating priests, on the eve of the Passover in Egypt, sprinkled the blood of a victim in sacrifice upon the consecrated bread and hallowed utensils, it was in the form of a cross. . . . Even, when occasion required the moving of the victims or the waving of the branches of palm, the motion was made to indicate the figure of the cross."⁴

"In India the cross bears the same meaning as in Egypt. When with four equal arms, it signifies the four elements, which the Hindoos consider as eternal and the component parts of all things."⁵

"The Thor's-hammer cross of the Scandinavians was also the symbol of godly power used in worship, and referred no doubt to the dwelling places of the gods, which were everywhere in the universe." . . . "Even to this day this hammer (the fylfot cross) is used in the magical rites still practised in Iceland by the witches, who claim thereby to rule the universe."⁶

Although the division of the mythical environment into four regions is not clearly indicated in all of these citations, it is highly probable that there was originally such a division, and it is clear that the conception was common to many peoples. A corresponding geographical placement is indicated among numerous other peoples by the occurrence of the four rivers in their conception of paradise.

¹ Seymour, William Wood. *The Cross in Tradition, History, and Art*, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

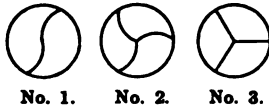
³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

Other symbols of wide distribution, corresponding in character and application to the cross, are the Yin and Yang of the Chinese¹ and Japanese, (No. 1); the Ta Ki of the Chinese, (No. 2); and the Triskiles of various peoples, (No. 3); and these may find their proper interpretation in the primitive separation of the universe and its rulers into two or three regions instead of four. These devices also



assumed many differing forms and received ever-changing interpretations with the passing centuries.

It has been shown that the cross as a religious symbol is the common property of many widely distributed peoples. The similarity in its significance and application everywhere has given rise to the theory that it must have spread from some original centre to the farthest ends of the world through intercourse and migration of peoples. But the belief now prevails among men of science that this theory is untenable, and we must look to some source common to primitive peoples generally. Such common source is to be sought neither in the picturing of natural forms, nor in the designs of the decorator, as in such use the cross has usually no deep significance or, at most, no widespread application, but in the use of symbols embodying religious concepts common to many peoples, and deeply impressed upon the primitive mind in general. Such a source is recognized in the separation of the primitive cosmos into four regions, and the transference of the sacred character of the beings occupying these to the device, which in course of common usage came to represent them.

¹ Brinton, D. G. *The Ta Ki, the Swastika, and the Cross in America*, 1889.

IDEAL NEWPORT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

At the opening of the eighteenth century, the world was growing weary of war. The brutal rule of Spain had been overcome and the aggressive ambition of Louis XIV. was checked by the diplomatic skill of William of Orange; while the increasing sea-power of Great Britain was beginning to balance the continent.

The divine mission of Grotius in the previous century was bearing fruit, and, though France and England contended here and there, these struggles were not wars of extermination. Forces other than warlike were getting exercise and practice, and where was the opportunity better than in a new world, in Aquidneck the isle of peace by the sea? Where did the new forms of civilization assert themselves better and in a more graceful form?

New England was just passing out of the ebb. The later seventeenth century had not developed citizens, equal to the pioneers who had led the way, but stronger men were coming. In the eighties there was a marked increase of commerce, of which a large share came to Newport. With commerce came the opportunity for that expansion, which the conditions of the place greatly favored. In his Century Sermon of 1738, Callender cited Neale in the statement "this is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New England for the fruitfulness of the soil and the temperateness of the climate." Enthusiasts for this landscape and climate have magnified and illumined their theme, with every resource of rhetoric, as time has gone on. "It appeals to one's alertness rather than to a lazy receptivity. You miss its quality entirely if your faculties

are not in a state of real activity. This does not exclude composure or imply excitement."

In winter, there might be difference of opinion. Mr. George Bradford, a true lover of nature, told me there was all the capricious, beguiling promise of the New England spring with double disappointments in effect. Yet a fine day can tempt a zealot in this wise. "The lotos-eating season is over, plainly, yet there is the same agreeable absence of demand on any specific energies as in summer. The envelope of color—that delightful garment that Newport never puts off—is as evident to the senses as in midsummer, though more silvery in quality." Richard Greenough claimed it to be the American Venice, according to Dr. Hale.

Conscious enlargement and the spirit of growth records itself in 1712, when John Mumford was ordered to survey the streets and number them. "The town had grown to be the admiration of all and was the metropolitan" said the fond record.¹ For the first three decades the expanding community was being prepared for the event which was greatly to affect it, and to influence all New England. Rev. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, had put forth his "Principles of Human Knowledge" in 1710. Flippant writers in these two centuries have laughed at the transcendent principles of Berkeley, but those laugh best who laugh last. The Dean only held firmly that "the universally acknowledged ultimate cause cannot be the empty abstraction called Matter. There must be living mind at the root of things. Mind must be the very substance and consistence and cause of whatever is. In recognizing this wondrous principle, life is simplified to man."² Certainly the world of Knowledge has moved toward rather than away from the philosopher, since this was written. Here was the creative and impelling idea needed to lift commercial and material Newport out of pioneer life, and into communion with an older civilization and a more refined culture.

Berkeley, on his way to found a college at Permuda, landed at Newport, Jan. 23, 1729, by accident or design as

¹ *Rhode Island Historical Magazine*, Vol. VI., p. 216.

² *Life and Letters of Berkeley*. p. 41.

is disputed, and remained there about three years. Rev. James Honyman was preaching in Trinity church, founded at the beginning of the century, when the letter from Dean Berkeley, proposing to land, was received. He read it to the congregation, dismissing them with a blessing. The pastor and his flock repaired to the wharf in time for the landfall. In this dramatic manner, the ideas of the old world were received into the new.

The philosopher confirms all our reports of the beauty and extraordinary, progressive character of the place, with its 6000 inhabitants. "The most thriving, flourishing place in all America for its bigness."¹ We shall note the sectaries, who "agreed in a rage for finery, the men in flaming scarlet coats and waistcoats, laced and fringed with brightest glaring yellow. The sly Quakers, not venturing on these charming coats and waistcoats, yet loving finery, figured away with plate on their sideboards."²

Graduates from Harvard College were frequent, with an occasional native who had been educated at an English university. The girls were often sent to Boston for their schooling.

Dissenters naturally attracted the notice of this good-humored ecclesiast. "The inhabitants are of a mixed kind, consisting of many sorts and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Anabaptists besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably with their neighbours of whatever profession. They all agree in one point, that the Church of England is second best."³

This accommodating spirit noted by the Dean was enforced in most piquant manner by Captain William Wanton, a Quaker and a son of a preacher. He courted Ruth Bryant, the beautiful daughter of a Presbyterian deacon in Scituate, Mass., who would not hear of such laxity in marriage, but the ardent groom solved the difficulty.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

"Ruth, I am sure we were made for each other; let us break away from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion and thou shalt give up thine and we will go to the Church of England and the devil together."¹

Lodowick Updike gives his boyish impression of the liberal Dean in Trinity pulpit. "All sects rushed to hear him; even the Quakers, with their broad brimmed hats, came and stood in the aisles."² In one of his sermons he very emphatically said 'give the devil his due, John Calvin was a great man.'³

Rev. James McSparran settled at St. Paul's church in Narragansett in 1721, was not as tolerant toward the "pestilent heresy" of the Quakers. He stated that there was no established religion "but the Quakers are, for the most part, the people in power."⁴ George Fox came in 1672, on his powerful mission. William Penn said of him that he was "civil beyond all forms of breeding." His influence, working on the radical settlers of the island and their descendants, must have had gracious effect. Historians and critics rooted in the established order of the sixteenth and following centuries, when judging dissent, can only see jangling differences; for they are blindly unconscious of the indestructible elements of beauty, growing out of freedom from arbitrary control in religious and social matters. Good Dean Berkeley cited four varieties of Anabaptists among his new friends and neighbors. Anabaptism simply meant the worst form of anarchy to an ordinary Catholic or Calvinist of the differing centuries. Yet the conservative Erasmus could term them "a people against whom there is very little to be said." In some cases, goaded by severe laws, they were wild and fanatical, but were in general mystically sincere and pious. They

¹ *Annals of Trinity Church.* p. 52.

² "In 1700 one-half the inhabitants were Quakers. *Annals Trinity Church.* p. 10. Roger Williams affected the Island settlement indirectly. He differed in doctrine from the Friends; while on the other hand, the system of laws established by Coddington and Clarke was adopted by the whole colony and enabled Providence to maintain a cohesive government.

³ Updike, *Narragansett Church.* p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

were not necessarily historical Baptists, though the rite of baptism usually distinguished them.

In the great social influences forming the Newport of mid-eighteenth century, the Literary and Philosophical Society with the Redwood Library were powerful factors. The first institution was formed in 1730; some claiming that it was originated by Berkeley. Mr. Mason a competent and sympathetic authority says it "owed something of its influence to him we may readily admit; but when he came to Newport, intellectually, he found it no barren wilderness."¹ The people were chosen and elect, whether we consider Coddington, John Clarke and the disciples of Anne Hutchinson, or the friends of Roger Williams, or the converts of George Fox, or the enterprising spirits gathered into "the most thriving place in all America." The Quaker Wanton and the high Puritan Ruth Bryant moulded into genial Episcopalians were fair examples of this annealing culture.

They had books already, as will be shown later, and representatives of all the sects, Jacob the Quaker scientist, Collins and Ward, Seventh Day Sabbatarians; Callender, a Baptist; Leaming, a Congregationalist; the Episcopal Honyman and others banded together. There was an elaborate set of rules, with forfeits and fines for all sorts of neglect and misfeasance, as was common then; some showing the earnest spirit of life prevailing.

The Society was to consider "some useful question in Divinity, Morality, Philosophy, History, etc." but "nothing shall ever be proposed or debated which is a distinguishing religious tenet of any one member. . . . Whoever shall make it an excuse to avoid giving his opinion, that he has not thought of the question, or has forgot what the question is, shall forfeit one shilling. Whoever is unprovided of a proper question, on his turn to propound one, shall forfeit one shilling."²

The first "authentic paper" is dated 1735, though there must have been earlier examples. The Society was con-

¹ *Annals Redwood Library.* p. 2.

² *Annals Redwood Library.* p. 14.

ducted vigorously and continued until about 1747 and had some Occasional Members, among whom was Stephen Hopkins of Providence. Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, another participant, lived at Stratford, Conn. He was an ardent disciple of Berkeley, visiting him soon after his arrival. As he was invited to the rectorate of Trinity in 1750, it shows the permanence of Berkeley's influence in the Colony. Afterwards he was President of King's College, New York.

Newport was a favorite destination for Scotch immigrants, and accordingly their influence was strong in the community. We get an inkling of the relative importance of the port from this statement of Dr. Waterhouse. "Between the years 1746 and 1750 there came over from Great Britain to the English Colonies a number of Scotch gentlemen. Some settled in Philadelphia, some in New York, but the greater part sat down in that pleasant and healthy spot, Rhode Island."¹

Edward Scott² the grand-uncle of Sir Walter, was for more than twenty years, master of the grammar and classical school. He was an active member of the Philosophical Society and Librarian of the Redwood.

There had been collections of books all through the century. Regulations of the Library of Trinity Church were recorded in 1709. Some of those volumes exist in fair preservation, stamped in gold letters "Belonging to y^e Library in Rhode Island."³ Bequests down to 1733 show small collections of good books. John Clarke in 1676 left a Concordance and Lexicon written by himself, also a Hebrew Bible. Benedict Arnold in 1733 left, besides Quaker books, Milton, Quarles, Fuller and Plutarch. In 1747, the Redwood Library was engrafted on the stock of the Philosophical Society. Abraham Redwood, a wealthy merchant and liberal Friend, gave £500. Henry Collins, a Seventh Day Baptist, furnished the land on which the Library stands. Born in 1699, he was a product and a maker of the culture we are studying. Doctor Benjamin Water-

¹ Ibid., p. 28.

² *Annals Trinity Church.* p. 55.

³ Ibid., p. 19.

house, a close friend of Gilbert Stuart,—himself a graduate of the University of Leyden, finally professor of Medicine in Harvard College—called Collins the Lorenzo de Medici of Rhode Island. Hon. William Hunter said of him, “he loved literature and the fine arts; had the sense of the beautiful in nature conjoined with the impulse to see it imitated and surpassed by art; he was a merchant, enterprising, opulent and liberal. Smibert was the father of true painting in this country. . . . Collins was fortunate enough to engage his earliest labors . . . his own portrait, Clap, Callender, above all Berkeley himself.”¹

The list of books² ordered from London is interesting, and we may glance at a name here and there, for we have the spirit of the time in black letter. There were 114 titles in folio. Barclay and Penn, Barrow, Burnet’s Reformation, a general dictionary of ten volumes, Hooker, Grotius, Wood’s Laws of England, Sir William Temple. In quarto 73 titles include dictionaries, Cudworth, Eusebinis, Fluxions, Boyles, Bacon, and Rowe on Wheel Carriages. The octavos cover 95 standard classics, with an occasional Erasmus, Puffendorf or Johnson. History took 73 titles, Divinity and Morality 48, which varied from Sherlock, Butler, Warbuton to Mrs. Rowe’s “Friendship in Death” or “Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed.” Forty titles were in Physick, 24 in Law, 54 in Natural History, Mathematics, etc., 55 in Arts Liberal and Mechanical, 37 in Miscellanies, Politics, etc. In duodecimo, there were 135 examples of very good general reading, as we should phrase it.

These names embody the books they desired; perhaps we should scan more closely those given by several gentlemen; for the volumes are such as they had. In folio 28 titles show Baxter, Beaumont, Fletcher, Chaucer, Herodotus, Homer, Justin Martyr, the Rambler, Spenser. In 22 quarto, 54 octavo were Descartes, Middleton, Addison, Bolingbroke, Calvin’s Institute in Latin, Douglass’ Summary from the author, Gentleman’s Magazine for two

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

² *Annals Redwood Library.* p. 494

years, twelve magazines from Philadelphia, Grey, Young's Night Thoughts, Roderick Random, Pope, Erasmus.

In a thriving and progressive community, accidents as well as incident contribute to the vital increase. As the Scotch "forty-five" sent out emigrating rebels to give needed strength to the new world, so the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 sent more than sixty families of accomplished Jews¹ who were generally wealthy merchants, attracted by liberal government and commercial opportunity, to our little isle by the sea.

The Jew first embodied and represented in an individual, the creative power of industry, flippantly characterized as the "Almighty Dollar." It is a fructifying idol, not almighty indeed, but powerful to enlist man with man, and to hold him subjected—not to a greater and sovereign man—but to citizen and people embodied in the State. Feudalism had been tested and found wanting, as it has been recently outgrown in Japan. Greater than the universal imperial power of Egypt and Assyria, greater even than Rome, was the economic force of industry; pledged to the State as a whole, but returning to each man in his own pocket, a universal tribute of mankind to man—the dollar. The philosophy of the eighteenth century, baptized in the blood and sacrifice of French feudal privilege, was necessary to garner in and bestow on each peasant or householder, this new tax, toll, impost and assessment of society, payable to its least and lowest member.

Meanwhile, England was so far ahead of its compeers in modern development that it had cut off the head of a king in the seventeenth century, by way of showing privilege and blind despotism, what was meant by the awakening of the human mind. All this is frequently treated as being absolutely involved in constitutional government, expanding suffrage and parliamentary representation. Truly, it is a part of these great categories of human progress, but it is even more part and portion of the larger social movement; by which not only is government parcelled out by King, Kaiser and cabinet, by parliament, democratic party or

¹ Newport Historical Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 162

aristocracy to render political rights fairly; but also by which the economic dollar flowing out of capitalist's coffer or laborer's pocket can renovate and fructify the whole movement.

By this extraordinary exercise of social force in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the face of the world was rapidly changed, Napoleons being elevated, or in turn crushed, by the way. The greatest exponent, the largest interpreter of this universal social force, working through particular individuals, was the historic Jew. He was little comprehended then, he is not wholly understood to-day. Anyone can see that the new economic dispensation did not endow the feudal descendants of fabled Roland or historic Richard with new privilege; nor did it allegate to the robber dynasties of Napoleonic marshals the administration of the new powers of society. It went to the Ghetto for new administrators, in the persons of shivering Shylocks and abject Isaacs of York. The scions and representatives of these new social administrators came out on the enlarged Rialto, the modern Bourse.

I hinted in the beginning, rather than affirmed that Newport was a wayside product of the whole social eighteenth century. The Jew, with his enlarged intelligence and creative skill, went into an appreciative and responsive atmosphere.

The "metropolitan" community, as it called itself in 1712, had come to be an important mart. Dr. McSparran and Douglass substantially agreed in reporting the commerce of 1750 to 1760. Butter and cheese, grain, fat cattle, fine horses, pipe staves and lumber were among the exports, largely to the West Indies. The Narragansett pacers were famous, pacing "a mile in little more than two minutes, a good deal less than three,"¹ according to the worthy parson. There were above 300 vessels of sixty tons and more, including coasters, in the export trade. In 1749, there were 160 clearances for foreign voyages.² In 1770, there were at least 200 vessels in the foreign and 400 in the

¹ Updike, *Narragansett Church*. p. 514.

² *Rhode Island Historical Magazine* Vol. VI., p. 310.

coasting trade,¹ the population having grown to 12,000. After 1707, trade in sugar, rum, and negroes grew rapidly. Sugar and molasses were distilled at Boston and more at Newport. The slaves were generally carried to the West Indies, sometimes to Newport or Boston. Much capital from Boston assisted in the business at Newport.² Privateering in the French and Spanish wars was a stimulating element in commerce. The Wantons, Ellerys, Malbones, indeed almost all the names are represented in this warring commerce.

Rev. James Honyman³, Scotchman and rector of Trinity from 1704 until 1750, was conciliatory in his ministry, drawing hearers from all the surrounding country. Dr. McSparran, Irishman of Narragansett, learned, acute, disputatious, was a keen sectarian, believing in anybody's establishment, if he could not have his own. He found in 1721 "a field full of briars and thorns." "Here liberty of conscience is carried to an irreligious extreme."⁴

We get a wider outlook and more judicial report from Arthur Brown, son of a rector of Trinity. He lived in Newport until 17 years old, then entered Trinity College, Dublin, becoming Senior Proctor and Professor of Greek. He wrote:

"The innocence of the people made them capable of liberty. Murder and robbery were unknown. During nine years at Newport from 1762 to 1771⁵ (I speak of my own knowledge) only one person was executed, a notorious thief and house-breaker one Sherman. The multiplicity of secretaries (*sic*) and strange wildness of opinions, was disgusting to a reasonable mind, and produced as great a variety, though with no such pernicious effect as in the reign of Charles the First; upon the whole, however, there was more genuine religion, morality and piety diffused than

¹ *Ibid.*, V. 7. p. 47.

² Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. II, pp. 455-469.

³ *Annals Trinity Church*. p. 94.

⁴ *Updike*, pp. 511, 514.

⁵ It will be remembered the population was 12,000. And we should compare the legal and criminal experience of England at same period.

in any country I have ever seen. . . . The state of literature in America was by no means contemptible."¹

The refined culture of such a people must find expression in art, though the century was not fruitful in the plastic arts. John Smibert, another Scotchman, is considered to have been the first artist of note in America. He came to Newport with Dean Berkeley and painted many portraits there. Robert Feke, little known, but one of the best colonial artists, practised there in the mid-century. Gilbert Stuart, the marvellous delineator of Washington born in Narragansett, educated in Newport, was formed at the beginning by these collections of pictures. Cosmo Alexander, an artist of repute, spent two years in America, mostly on the island; he taught Stuart and first took him to England. Washington Allston was fitted for college in Newport. Edward G. Malbone, born at Newport in the revolutionary time, was self-taught and the atmosphere of the island-paradise lighted up his palette. Benjamin West said of his "Hours" that "no man in England could excel it." There is in the delicate lines of this bit of ivory a "dignity, character and expression"² inspired by the whole ideal life I have attempted to set forth. We have in these words, the criticism of a sympathetic artist. I would note also a certain grace which is the refining excellence of beauty.

The grace of culture may be rendered in a picture; its strength and force must be represented by a man or men. Ezra Stiles, though not the outgrowth, was a collateral product of our island. Coincident with the Jewish immigration, he became minister of the Second Congregational Church in 1756, at twenty-nine years of age, influenced "partly by an agreeable town and the Redwood Library." He was Librarian during most of his twenty years sojourn. Corresponding with European authors, he solicited books for the Redwood. His folio Homer is preserved fully annotated by him in the original Greek. He became President of Yale College, the natural precinct of Jonathan

¹ Rhode Island Historical Magazine, Vol. VI., pp. 161, 168-171.

² Arnold. Art and Artists in Rhode Island. p. 9.

Edwards¹ who had told the previous generation that the "existence of all exterior things is ideal."

Stiles formed Chancellor Kent, and Channing inheriting his Newport teachings said "in my earliest years, I regarded no human being with equal reverence." If he had done no more than to affect seriously these two men, America would owe him a great debt.

This happy community was fatally damaged by the Revolution, when its commerce fled to the safer port of Providence. Many of its citizens were loyalists, and the armies of both contestants trampled over the city. The society created by its peculiar culture was scattered, and the true "Paradise of New England" ceased to be.

¹ We should note the sympathy, correlative though not derived, between Edwards and Berkeley. "The soul in a sense, has its seat in the brain; so in a sense, the visible world is existent out of the mind; for it certainly in the proper sense, exists out of the brain. . . . Space is a necessary being, if it may be called a being; and yet we have also shown, that all existence is mental, that the existence of all exterior things is ideal." Cited from Edwards by Sereno E. Dwight. *Life and Letters of Berkeley.* p. 182.

DID BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FLY HIS ELECTRICAL KITE BEFORE HE IN- VENTED THE LIGHTNING ROD?

BY ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH.

One of the best known events in the life of Franklin is the story of his electrical kite and how, from this experiment, he deduced the identity of lightning and artificial electricity which led to the invention of the lightning-rod. Not only is this taught in our schools, through the popular biographies of Franklin, but many scientific treatises contain the same statement. I shall endeavor to show in this paper:

(1) That the kite-experiment was probably performed later than has been supposed; (2) that even before this experiment certain buildings in Philadelphia were provided with 'points,' probably as lightning-conductors; and (3) that prior to Franklin's first account of the kite-experiment he had drawn up precise directions for placing lightning-rods upon all kinds of buildings.

As is well known, Franklin's early electrical experiments are described in letters to his friend, Peter Collinson of London, who, because the Royal Society refused to include them in its *Transactions*, had them published in London under the title: *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia by Mr. Benjamin Franklin and communicated to P. Collinson*. The first edition, in two parts, appeared at London in 1751 and 1753, and the four subsequent editions contain also the later papers reprinted from the *Philosophical Transactions*, as well as other matter. This work was

soon translated into foreign languages and I possess the first French¹ and German² editions.

Already in his letter entitled: "Opinions and Conjectures, concerning the Properties and Effects of the electrical Matter arising from Experiments and Observations, made at Philadelphia 1749," written to Collinson, on July 29, 1750, Franklin had proposed to test the electricity of thunder-clouds by erecting pointed rods on high buildings and had suggested their use to disperse lightning-strokes. This and Franklin's other letters on electricity, which had been translated into French, excited great interest in France and the experiment proposed by Franklin, in the letter above cited, was executed at Marly, near Paris, on May 10, 1752, by M. Dalibard and at Paris eight days later by M. Delor.

Franklin's classic experiment in which, by means of a kite, he brought down the electricity from the thunder-cloud itself, was performed near Philadelphia within the next four months. The exact date is unknown, that of June which is usually assigned, being due, so far as I can ascertain, to Joseph Priestley,³ but, as I shall presently show, there is good reason to believe that the experiment was not performed until later in the summer. De Romas, assessor of Nérac in southern France, who claimed to have had the first idea of the electrical kite in July, 1752, although he did not put it in practice until the following year, wrote to Franklin declaring his priority which had been denied by Priestley. Since Franklin's reply seems never to have been published except in the scarce French tract which I possess,⁴ I give the letter here.

Philadelphia, July 29, 1754.

SIR,

Your most obliging Favour of October 19 with your two very ingenious Memoirs on the subject of Electricity came not

¹ *Expériences et Observations sur l'Electricité faites à Philadelphie en Amérique*. par M. Benjamin Franklin et communiquées dans plusieurs lettres à M. P. Collinson. Paris, 1752.

² *Des Herrn Benjamin Franklins Esq. Briefe von der Electricität.* Aus dem Engländischen übersetzt . . . von J. C. Wilcke. Leipzig, 1758.

³ *History of Electricity*, Fifth Edition, London, 1794, page 160.

⁴ *Mémoire sur les Moyens de se garantir de la Foudre dans les Maisons*, Bordeaux, 1776.

to hand till yesterday. By this Vessel, which is just departing for London, I can only acknowledge the Receipt of them, and assure you that the Correspondence so kindly offer'd will be extreamly agreeable to me. A more particular answer I must defer till the next Opportunity; in the mean time I send you a late Paper of mine on Lightning, which perhaps may not be published before this reaches your Hands. I am very respectfully, Sir, your most obedient humble serv^t,

B. FRANKLIN.

M. ROMAS.

In the same work De Romas maintains that if, as he assumes to be the case, Franklin knew of the success of the French physicists, it would have been impossible for him to have got the news from Europe and to have confirmed their results with his kite within thirty days, that is to say during the month of June. This view is supported by the fact that a letter from Paris, dated May 26, N. S., 1752, and published in the *London Magazine* for May, was not reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* until August 27 of the same year. Authorities differ as to whether Franklin knew of the French experiments, Priestley asserting that he did not¹ and Park Benjamin saying that he desired to extend them to greater heights.² If we accept the latter statement we are forced, with De Romas, to assign a date later than June to the kite experiment. While this must have taken place during the summer or early autumn of 1752, no mention of it can be found until an account was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 19, 1752, which is the same as that in the *London Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1752. On the first of October, probably, Franklin wrote to Collinson in London, a similar account but this letter, which was read to the Royal Society on December 21, 1752, has suffered inexplicable alterations. It was first published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1752³ where it bears the date October 1, 1752. It was reprinted, with slight verbal

¹ *History of Electricity*, page 152.

² *The Intellectual Rise in Electricity*, New York, 1898, page 589.

³ Volume XLVII, page 555.

changes, in the five editions of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, first appearing in the second part of the first edition, published at London in 1753. Here the letter is dated October 19, but what is more singular, as was pointed out by Professor Hellmann, a German bibliographer,¹ the important paragraph, which concludes this communication in the *Philosophical Transactions*, is omitted from the letter when reprinted in the collected papers above mentioned, and, as I have ascertained, likewise in the several editions of Franklin's works edited by Sparks, Bigelow and Smyth. The passage in question is as follows:—

I was pleased to hear of the success of my experiments in France, and that they there begin to erect points upon their buildings. We had before placed them upon our academy and statehouse spires.

From the last statement it may be inferred that Franklin wished to assert his priority in the use of pointed rods as lightning-conductors and that he might possibly have anticipated the experiments of Dalibard and Delor in France, although, if he did, no account of this exists. In September, 1752, that is soon after the kite experiment probably, Franklin erected on his house in Philadelphia an insulated iron rod connected at its lower end with a pair of bells, which by ringing would show when the rod was electrified. In April, 1753, he charged one Leyden jar from this rod and another jar with positive electricity from a frictional machine, concluding from this and subsequent experiments:

That the clouds of a thunder-gust are most commonly in a negative state of electricity, but sometimes in a positive state.

The first definite announcement of the lightning-rod is generally thought to be contained in a letter written at Philadelphia in September, 1753,² in which, after describing the foregoing experiments, Franklin says:

Metalline rods, therefore, of sufficient thickness, and extending from the highest part of an edifice to the ground, being of the best material and compleat conductors, will, I think, secure the building from damage,

¹ *Neudrucke von Schriften und Karten über Meteorologie und Erdmagnetismus*, No. 11, Berlin, 1898, page 7.

² *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, London, 1769, Letter xii.

either by restoring the equilibrium so fast as to prevent a stroke, or by conducting it in the substance of the rod so far as the rod goes, so that there shall be no explosion but what is above its point, between that and the clouds.

Were this Franklin's first announcement of the invention there might be grounds for the claim of the German physicist, Poggendorff,¹ that his countryman, J. H. Winkler of Leipzig, was entitled to share with Franklin the honor, because in the year 1753 he also had recommended the use of lightning-conductors and had given directions for their erection,² in consequence of which, probably, according to Poggendorff, they were introduced into Germany in 1754. It appears, however, from examining the history of lightning-rods that these experiments with multiple points were made by Procopius Divisch in an open field and that the first lightning-rods on houses, according to Franklin's method, were not installed in Hamburg until 1769.

But Franklin's priority is definitely assured by a remarkable article, which seems to have escaped the notice of all Franklin's biographers, and of writers upon the history of electricity, with one exception, and it is chiefly with the object of making the article known that I present this paper to the Society. It is true that Richard Anderson, in his *Lightning Conductors* (London and New York, third edition, 1885), does quote "an advertisement" which he says appeared in several of the editions of Franklin's almanac, "notably the Poor Richard for the year 1758." As this is not the case and since the lightning-rod was well known in America in the year 1758, the quotation, which I am about to give, contributed little to the history of the subject when cited by Mr. Anderson. The article in question was printed only once and then with the reading-matter near the end of *Poor Richard's (Improved) Almanac* for 1753, published in Philadelphia by B. Franklin and D. Hall. It is known that the matter for these almanacs was prepared by Franklin under the *nom-de-plume* of Richard Saunders, and the copy for the present issue must have been ready for the printer

¹ *Geschichte der Physik*, Leipzig, 1879, page 864.

² *Programma avertendi fulminis artificio*, Lipsiae, 1753.

early in October, 1752, because an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 19 states that the almanac was then in press and would be published shortly.

The article is as follows:—

How to secure Houses, &c. from LIGHTNING. It has pleased God in his Goodness to Mankind, at length to discover to them the Means of securing their Habitations and other Buildings from Mischief by Thunder and Lightning. The Method is this: Provide a small Iron Rod (it may be made of the Rod-iron used by the Nailers) but of such a Length, that one End being three or four Feet in the moist Ground the other may be six or eight Feet above the Highest part of the Building. To the upper End of the Rod fasten about a Foot of Brass Wire, the size of a common Knitting-needle, sharpened to a fine Point; the Rod may be secured to the House by a few small Staples. If the House or Barn be long, there may be a Rod and Point at each End, and a middling Wire along the Ridge from one to the other. A House thus furnished will not be damaged by Lightning, it being attracted by the Points and passing thro the Metal into the Ground without hurting any Thing. Vessels also, having a sharp pointed Rod fix'd on the Top of their Masts, with a Wire from the Foot of the Rod reaching down, round one of the Shrouds, to the Water, will not be hurt by Lightning.

It is admitted that Franklin suggested the possibility of the lightning-rod is early as 1750; it is here shown, I believe for the first time, that Franklin prepared definite directions for putting rods upon buildings in 1752, or about a year earlier than he has been credited with their invention. Moreover, from the concluding paragraph in the letter describing the electrical kite, which was nearly contemporaneous with his directions to secure houses from lightning, it appears that edifices in Philadelphia were already equipped with metal rods, though I cannot say certainly whether these were intended to protect the buildings from lightning-strokes or for further experiments on 'the power of points' to collect the electricity in the air.



PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 17, 1907, IN ELLIS HALL, AT
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUILDING, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by the
first Vice President, Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

The following members were present:—

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis,
James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith,
Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase,
Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, Daniel Merriman,
William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes,
A. George Bullock, William E. Foster, Charles P. Greenough,
Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins, Henry A. Marsh, James
L. Whitney, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Waldo
Lincoln, John Noble, George P. Winship, A. Lawrence
Rotch, Samuel Utley, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill,
George L. Kittredge, Albert Matthews, William MacDonald,
Roger B. Merriman, Victor H. Paltsits, Deloraine P. Corey,
Clarence S. Brigham, Frederick L. Gay, Franklin P. Rice.

The reading of the records of the last meeting was on
motion dispensed with, the printed report of the proceedings
having been already distributed among the members of
the Society. The report of the Council which was prepared
by FRANKLIN B. DEXTER and SAMUEL UTLEY was then
submitted. In behalf of Mr. Utley who prepared the busi-
ness report, Mr. Dexter read that portion of the report
relating exclusively to the business of the Society.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, reported that the Committee heretofore appointed to investigate and report on the publication of the British Royal Proclamations had submitted their report to the Council, recommending that power be given them to proceed with the publication of the Proclamations, and asking authority to charge the expense of the publication to the Publishing Fund. The Council, having approved of this course of action, recommended that power be granted the Committee to carry it out as suggested.

On motion it was so ordered.

The Recording Secretary read the list of nominations for membership in the Society, submitted by the Council as follows:

For resident membership:

Caleb Benjamin Tillinghast, Litt. D., Boston, Mass.
Worthington Chauncey Ford, Washington, D. C.

For foreign membership:

Genaro Garcia, Mexico.

On ballot these gentlemen were duly elected.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, presented a printed set of by-laws, which had been approved by the Council with a recommendation that they be adopted by the Society—and he thereupon moved their adoption.

Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE, in behalf of the Committee which prepared the by-laws, explained the changes which had been made from the existing by-laws of the Society and called attention to the additions proposed by the Committee.

A discussion then ensued mainly directed to the phraseology of one or two of the paragraphs, which was participated in by Messrs. William T. Forbes, Samuel S. Green, Waldo

Lincoln, Edward L. Davis, Andrew McF. Davis and William MacDonald.

The By-Laws with such changes as were agreed upon, were then adopted.¹

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, Litt. D., then read the portion of the Council Report exclusively prepared by himself. It was a paper entitled, "Early Libraries in New England."

GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, LL.D. then communicated, "Some Notes on Witchcraft."

Mr. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS then read a paper the title of which was "Almanacs of Roger Sherman, 1750 to 1761."

Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH read a paper entitled "Benjamin Franklin and the first balloons."

Vice-President Lincoln, in behalf of J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL. D., presented by title the paper, "Notes on the English Admiralty Papers."

The foregoing papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS,
Recording Secretary.

Many of the members present then proceeded to the University Club where they lunched together.

¹ The By-Laws have been separately printed for the use of the members.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In compliance with the By-laws of the Society, the Council reports that the affairs of the Society are all in good order under the charge of the officers recently elected and the committees appointed as before reported, who have all taken hold with zeal and discretion.

The plan referred to in the last report of the Council, which was approved by the Society, of having the manuscripts owned by the Society indexed, has been perfected by the library committee, and Mr. Charles H. Lincoln of the manuscript division of the Congressional Library has been employed tentatively to begin the work at \$125.00 per month, the estimated time being about one year, and the Council have appropriated fifteen hundred dollars for the purpose. No obligation has been assumed to pursue the work any longer than the Council deems advisable. Of course there will be some small incidental expenses. The great need and desirability of the work are too obvious to require a detailed statement.

The library committee has also found that some of the pictures are in danger of destruction and measures have been taken to put them all in good order.

The Society have a number of articles of furniture which are of value for their historic associations as well as for their great beauty. It is planned to repair them all gradually and mark them so that their history will not be lost. Probably few members fully appreciate what great attractions are concealed beneath the dingy exterior of many of these articles.

The library committee has revised and reduced the number of newspapers to be bound and preserved by the Society. Newspapers are so numerous that nothing complete can be done by us, and little confidence is felt in the durability of such paper as is now used, so that it seems best to limit very much the number bound. They are costly, bulky, and require large and expensive cases to properly preserve them.

About 4000 books have been received from the estate of our late President Salisbury, and the library committee is having them carefully examined to see how far they are duplicates or outside the class which it is desirable for us to keep. In view of our limited accommodations, it is probable that in the future the line will be more sharply drawn as to additions to the library and perhaps it may even be well to dispose of some books already in the library, as not germane to the purposes of the Society.

Mr. Paine has been treasurer of the Society for 44 years and feels that he would like some assistance in the performance of his duties. Colonel Bullock has kindly consented to render this aid, and at the suggestion of Mr. Paine, the Council has appointed him assistant treasurer, acting under the by-law which authorizes it to appoint subordinate officers. The proposed new rules give this authority in express terms.

The committee appointed at the annual meeting of the Society to examine the suggestion made by Professor Jameson, as to the desirability of the publication, by the Society, of the British Royal Proclamations relating to America, have asked for and received from the Council an appropriation of \$100.00, to cover the expenses of collecting the necessary information, and as directed in your vote, have reported to the Council, which has approved of the plan, and recommends that the committee be authorized to proceed and publish the proclamations, the expense to be charged to the publishing fund. The Council, having authority to expend income only, asks you to authorize this expenditure.

unofficial information that the
wife of Thomas H. Dodge of Wor-
cester has recently offered for probate, given
\$3000.00. Mr. and Mrs. Dodge,
Worcester and its charitable and
in her will Mrs. Dodge has devised
dollars in legacies to them all.
Rockwood Hoar, Albert Samuel
Chavero, members of the Society,
has also been received of the death
Rumier Mozoomdar, at Calcutta, India, on
Obituaries have been prepared by the
published with the proceedings of this

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER,
SAMUEL UTLEY,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

Babu Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, died in Calcutta, India, May 27th, 1905. His life was spent in India where he was born in October, 1840. He grew up under the influence of Keshub Chunder Sen and joined the Brahmo Somaj in 1859, and was an eloquent preacher and a leader of the theistic movement in India. His time was devoted to religious studies and writings, mingled with which was a short period of editorial work on the *Indian Mirror*, beginning in 1870.

In 1874, 1883 and 1900 he visited England, where he made a number of addresses, and he also preached in both England and Scotland. In 1883 he returned home by way of America which he re-visited in 1893 when he attended the great Parliament of Religions in Chicago at the World's Fair, speaking at the opening and closing sessions and contributing a paper on the "Brahmo Somaj" and one on "The World's Religious Debt to Asia." In 1900, he again came to America and visited the Unitarian Association meeting in Boston.

Ellis and Company of Boston published his "Oriental Christ" "Spirit of God" and "Heart Beats," the latter having a short biographical notice by Samuel J. Barrows. He became a member of this Society in 1893. S. U.

Rockwood Hoar, died in Worcester, Mass., Nov. 1st, 1906. The only son of our late associate, Senator George F. Hoar, he was born in Worcester, Aug. 24th, 1855, fitted for college in the public schools, and was graduated from Harvard in 1876, receiving the degree of A. M. in 1878.

He studied law in the office of Senator Hoar and in the Harvard Law School, which conferred the degree of LL. B., on him in 1878.

Admitted to the Worcester County Bar in 1879, he practiced law in Worcester till his death, having held the office

of Assistant District Attorney, 1884-7, and that of District Attorney 1899-1905.

He was aide-de-camp on the staff of Governor Ames 1887-1890, Judge Advocate General on the staff of Governor Wolcott, 1897-1900, and member of the common council of Worcester 1887-91, being its president in 1891.

As trustee of the Worcester Insane Hospital for twenty years, a trustee of Clark University, Vice President of the American Unitarian Association, and as a director in various financial institutions he had been active in the life of the community in which he lived.

At the time of his decease he was serving his first term as member of Congress, following his father, grandfather, uncle and cousin, who had all represented Massachusetts districts, and he had made his mark to a degree unusual in so young a member. He joined this Society in 1894. S. U.

Albert Samuel Gatschet, died in Washington, D. C., March 16th, 1907. He was born near Berne, Switzerland, October 3rd, 1832, studied at the University of Berne and that of Berlin 1852-8 and received from the former the degree of Ph. D., in 1892.

His first work was in reference to the German and Romance dialects in Switzerland, the results of which were published.

His antiquarian researches were next pursued in the British Museum, after which, in 1868 he came to the United States.

The American Indians soon attracted his attention and thenceforward his life work was mainly in connection with them.

At this time in this field, says *The Nation*, "Research was almost unknown and few systematic efforts had been made to analyze the native linguistic stock."

Many years were spent travelling among the Indians getting his information by personal investigation.

Very soon the attention of our associate, the late John W. Powell, was called to his work, and in 1877 he was appointed Ethnologist of the Geographical Survey then being made under the direction of that distinguished officer. This position he held till July 1st, 1879, when the Bureau of Ethnology was established and he was transferred to it.

In 1874 he published "A Creek Migration Legend" which was followed in 1890 by "The Klamath Indians of South Western Oregon."

The publications of the Bureau of Ethnology also contain numerous contributions from his pen.

On account of ill health he was given a furlough in 1905.

A member of this Society since 1902, his principal work here has been the valuable oversight that he gave to the publication of "The Natick Dictionary" by our associate the late Doctor Trumbull, the manuscript of which is among our most valued possessions. S. U.

Señor Justo Benitez, was born in the city of Oaxaca, Mexico, August 6th, 1833, and died in the City of Mexico, June 12th, 1900.

He entered the "Institute of Arts and Sciences" in his native city where he studied law and graduated in 1853.

This was during the dictatorship of General Santa Anna and very soon the patriotic party began a revolution in which our late associate took an active and influential part, and Santa Anna was overthrown, following which came the constitution of 1857, which is regarded as the Mexican Magna Charta.

General Diaz was his schoolmate and their intimacy was carried into political life in which their views long agreed.

During the French Intervention, Señor Benitez was "Auditor of War" in the army of the east, and also secretary of General Diaz, its commander, and rendered good service to his country and gained a high reputation as a skillful manager and organizer.

On the triumph of General Diaz in 1876, Señor Benitez was Secretary of the "Treasury and Public Credit," being in fact head of the Cabinet.

It was understood that he was to succeed General Diaz and with this end in view he made a tour in Europe for the purpose of studying certain political questions, but unfortunate differences arose in his party and he retired to private life and to the practice of his profession of law which he pursued till a few months before his death, when he became reconciled to General Diaz who appointed him "Director of the Orphans Industrial School of Mexico" which position he held till his decease.

He was distinguished as a lawyer of high rank in "Civil and Constitutional law" and of unsullied honor.

"He was a learned and conscientious man. As a politician he was sagacious and of steady principles, of an

Society. [April,

His untimely death in his public career,"
in 1884. S. U.

was born in the City of
there October 24th,

San Juan de Letran in

Professor of Administra-
1868, and principal
Viscainas College
National Museum,
Bank, "Magistrate
Mexican National

a legal, literary,
character by him
the "Illustrious
Antiquities," and
worthy of mention.
and foreign honored
being this Society.
S. U.

EARLY PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

Our notions of early New England and its intellectual and social condition are perhaps unduly affected by a conviction of the hardships and discords of frontier life; and it may be worth while to aim at some discovery of the counter-vailing elements; and, confining myself for the present to one particular, to ask what sort of literary baggage the original settlers brought with them, and what printed books their children and grand-children fed on. The inquiry might be variously undertaken; but I have preferred, as the most sure, if not the most picturesque way, a scrutiny of some of the more detailed inventories filed in the Probate Courts in connection with the settlement of estates.

In such a day of small things the majority of estates were so slender that it was natural in these to register somewhat minutely the several items; and thus we may be prepared to find in many instances a separate entry of every book included in an estate, with the value at which it was appraised, side by side with the like enumeration of household goods and farm utensils.

In most cases of course the inventory betrays an utter absence of books and book-learning. And equally, of course, where one book only is named, that is invariably in such language as "a Bible," "an old Bible," "a great Bible," or "a small Bible." Occasionally the appraisers are more emphatically descriptive, as in the case of John Smith, a respectable miller of Providence, dying in 1682, where out of an estate of upwards of £90, the only literature made note of is "An old Bible, some lost and some of it torne," which is assessed at 9d.

It should also be said that it is not uncommon to find two, three, four, five, six, or in one case (John Kirby, of Middletown, Connecticut, 1677) nine Bibles, enumerated as the property of an otherwise bookless testator.

Next in frequency to the Bible, in such unlettered estates, is "A Psalm book," by which I suppose is generally meant in the earliest time Ainsworth's metrical version, first printed at Amsterdam in 1612, which the Pilgrims brought with them, or after 1640 the "Bay Psalm Book," only a shade less barbarous in poetry and rhythm. But the ordinary run of single volumes, owned by a Puritan householder, apart from his Bible or Psalm-book, was almost inevitably some doctrinal or practical treatise in religion, by a popular author, such as Ainsworth, or Goodwin, or Perkins, or Preston, or Sibbes; but occasionally a Catechism, or more rarely a Concordance.

In our annals the seventeenth-century instances are very infrequent, in which a short list of books contains any sample of a different sort from these. Of such exceptional cases a fair instance is the inventory of Deacon George Clark, of Milford, Connecticut, in 1690, where "Record's Arithmaticke" appears; or that of Deacon George Bartlett, Lieutenant of the train-band of Guilford, who left in 1669 two books of "Marshall Discipline;" or, less remarkably perhaps, that of Dame Anna Palsgrave, of Roxbury, in the same year, a physician's widow, in which besides ordinary medical books is found Pliny's "Natural History," undoubtedly in Philemon Holland's noble translation; or, most outstanding of any case in my knowledge, that of William Harris, one of the strong men of early Rhode Island, compeer and rival of Roger Williams, whose scanty library of about 30 volumes in 1680 contained such unusual treasures as no less than eleven law-books, headed by Coke upon Littleton; "The London Despensetory," besides two other more commonplace medical works; a "Dixonarey;" Richard Norwood's Trigonometry; Gervase Markham's "Gentleman Jocky;" Lambarde's "Perambulation of Kent," the prototype and model of English county histories; Morton's "New England's Memorial," that foundation-stone of Pilgrim

history; a treatise on "The Effect of Warr;" with only a faint sprinkling of theology, and that enlivened by such a standard piece of literature as Sir Matthew Hale's "Contemplations, Moral and Divine."

But, most generally, in the ordinary lists of estates, the entry is apt to read, "Some old bookes;" or, with still more inglorious uncertainty, as in the case of Mr. John Wakeman, of New Haven, a layman of distinction, who died in 1661, leaving an estate of £300 (equivalent to perhaps six or seven thousand dollars with us), of which one item is "three shirts and some old Bookes, fifteen shillings;" or in that of Nathaniel Bowman, of Wethersfield, who possessed "Books, bottles and odd things," grouped in value at 12 shillings; or in that of Robert Day, of Hartford, progenitor of a notable line, who died in 1648, leaving in an estate of £143, "one pound in bookes, and sakes, and ladders;" or in that of Joseph Clark, of Windsor, 1655, who died possessed of goods valued at £44, in which one item ran, "For bacon, 1 muskett, and some bookes, £2. 12s."

When we come to details, we must remember at the outset that many of the largest libraries are not itemized, but simply entered in bulk; and passing on to some of the larger collections of which we have fuller particulars, I select for analysis ten inventories, of such as are most conveniently at hand. Of these it happens that a bare majority belong to the old Plymouth Colony,—which is not to be taken as a proof that that short-lived, unprosperous Pilgrim community was especially well supplied with cultivated men, for the exact opposite was the fact; but rather, as already suggested, that poverty of resources led to a more minute enumeration of such goods as they had, and has thus preserved more details than comparative abundance elsewhere deigned to furnish.

Of our ten specimen cases the first from the New Haven Colony is that of one Edward Tench, who died in 1640, a substantial layman, of whose history and occupation nothing distinctive is transmitted. Here, out of an estate of £400, one thirty-second part, £12½, is accredited to books, 53 volumes of which are enumerated; and the contents of the

collection are sufficiently typical. There are six Bibles, namely, "1 Geneva Bible, with notes," "1 Bible, Roman letter," and 4 small ones; a Concordance; some 40 volumes of commentaries and practical religion—the writer chiefly represented being Dr. Richard Sibbes, an intimate friend of John Davenport, the testator's pastor; two or three medical books; one law-book, Dalton's "Country Justice;" one book of cookery and household economy; and two standard works in agriculture—Markham's "Husbandry" and Mascall's "Government of Cattle;" but of general literature, ancient or modern, and of the whole domain of science as then understood, absolutely nothing.

The only other collection of books in the New Haven Colony of any importance to be noted in this connection is the library of over 100 volumes belonging to the Rev. Samuel Eaton, colleague pastor of the New Haven Church from 1638 to 1640. This collection, left behind as a gift to New Haven when the owner returned to England, and catalogued while in the town's possession,¹ is a representative working library of an educated theologian, to whom Latin was as familiar as English; but outside of theology and scholastic philosophy, it contains barely a dozen titles. Of these the more notable are a few classical authors, such as Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Virgil, Ovid, and Justin, and two modern Latin classics, More's "Utopia" and the "Proverbs" of Erasmus; in history and geography, Raleigh's "History of the World," Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," and Peter Heylyn's "Cosmography;" a couple of second-rate medical hand-books; Keckermann's Manuals of Mathematics and of Logic; and a book of Military Discipline. The nearest approach to literature is the Ovid, which was George Sandys's poetical version of the Metamorphoses; and the entire list of inventories entered in the New Haven Probate Court down to 1700 affords nothing to rival this one poetical attempt in the line of belles-lettres.

In the neighbor Colony of Connecticut I have found few detailed inventories, and so far as I can gather, the records

¹ New Haven Colony Hist. Society's Papers, VI, 301-13.

of the original Probate District, that of Hartford, exhibit nothing of literary interest. The only collection of books within the Colony of any extent which is even in part recoverable is that of Governor John Winthrop the younger, traveller, physician, and diplomatist, who died in 1676. About 300 volumes from his library (a fraction only of the whole) were given many years since by a descendant to the New York Society Library, and form an exceptionally interesting collection. Among them are representatives of all the then known sciences, and of almost every department of knowledge; and the lines displaying special strength are distinctly unusual. For instance, nearly one-fourth of the whole is made up of books dealing with the occult sciences, magic, alchemy, astrology, etc. Besides these should be emphasized many rare and notable works in Mathematics, Astronomy, and Medicine, and a valuable collection of helps to the study of numerous languages. There is besides an unusual number of works written in the leading modern tongues—French, German, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish being all well represented.

To name a few of the notable authors, there are two of Tycho Brahe's astronomical works, Machiavelli's "Prince," Mercator's Atlas (1610), Napier's work on Logarithms, Pascal's "Provincial Letters," and Ronsard's Hymns.

In Massachusetts Bay a pendant to Samuel Eaton's library is that of John Harvard, who immortalized an undistinguished name by bequeathing his estate to the infant college in Cambridge at his death in 1638. The list as entered on the college records² seems to imply about 440 volumes. As might be expected, a considerable majority fall under the regular designation of theology and philosophy,—the next largest division being those in classical and modern Latin literature, about one-tenth of the whole; of these, the principal classical texts in Greek are Aesop, Epictetus, and Isocrates, and in Latin, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Persius, Plautus, Sallust, and Terence. In the domain of history there are hardly a dozen volumes; in

² Bibliographical Contributions to Harvard University Library, No. 27.

medicine and law, three or four each. The most outstanding individual works are Chapman's inspired translation of Homer and Holland's Pliny; the Colloquies of Erasmus and the Letters of Roger Ascham, both in the original Latin, Minshew's "Guide into Tongues," that most wonderful of seventeenth-century dictionaries; Camden's "Remaines concerning Britain;" Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," his Essays, and his Natural History; Feltham's "Resolves," and (to represent English poetry) one volume of Francis Quarles and one of George Wither.

With this bequest of John Harvard one is tempted to compare briefly three other lists of seventeenth-century gifts to the same college, which are extant, namely, forty volumes from Governor Winthrop the elder, about twenty from Governor Bellingham, and nearly forty from the Rev. Peter Bulkley. In the Bellingham list³ there is nothing outside the usual lines of philosophy and theology, except a copy of Grotius *de jure belli*. Governor Winthrop's⁴ gift is, like its donor, distinctly less commonplace, comprising such comparative rarities as a French version of the Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, and a Life of the Virgin Mary. There is one book in the field of modern history—Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglicana*, and among the items on the classical side so useful an acquisition as a Greek lexicon.

The last of the Harvard gifts to be mentioned is that from Peter Bulkley, of Concord, whose inventory at his death in 1659 includes as one item £123 in books. Of these certain are specifically mentioned as bequests in his will; and combining these with his earlier gift to the college we get about 60 titles from a working Massachusetts pastor's library. Of these at least three-fourths fall under the usual class of theology and philosophy, while the remainder are mainly historical. The volumes most worthy of special notice are Father Paul's "History of the Council of Trent," a copy of the *Pontificale Romanum*, Camden's *Descriptio Britanniæ*, and a tract of King James I. against demonology.

³ Harvard Library Bibliographical Contributions, No. 27.

⁴ Winthrop's Life and Letters, II, 438-39.

For the sake of comparison, it may be worth while to glance also at the inventory of the stock in trade of Michael Perry,⁶ a Boston bookseller, who died in 1700. This list foots up apparently about 6000 separate volumes, though of these many are insignificant in size and unimportant in contents. Of the entire number nearly three-fourths would be classed as theology; about 300 volumes belong to classical literature; and about 50 to mathematics. So far as I can distinguish there is but a single volume to be credited to belles-lettres—Fairfax's translation of Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered." But there are 34 copies of a popular astrological work, nearly 1500 "Assembly's Catechisms," 3 copies of the "Pilgrim's Progress" with cuts, 6 Common-Prayer Books, 170 Bibles or parts of Bibles, and upwards of 300 Psalm Books.

If we turn now to Plymouth Colony, we find accessible the inventories of six collections of books, which deserve comparison with those already named,—those of William Bradford, William Brewster, Samuel Lee, Ralph Partridge, Thomas Prince, and Miles Standish.

Taking first the clergymen, Ralph Partridge, of Duxbury, died in 1658, leaving a library of upwards of 420 volumes, which was appraised at £32. 9s.—an average of 18 pence a volume. The titles, however, of only a small number are spread upon the records, and these indicate a preponderance of theology, with a special leaning to the Church Fathers and to ecclesiastical history in general, and little else of importance.

A generation later, "the Reverend and learned Mr. Samuel Lee," of Bristol, died in 1691, on a return voyage from America; and the Catalogue of his library, which was exposed for sale in Boston, was printed there by Samuel Green in 1693.⁶

About 1300 volumes are recorded, of which fully four-fifths are in Latin. With the usual experience Divinity, including Ecclesiastical History, absorbs 30 per cent; and the next largest list, that of secular History, is less than half the previous division in extent. Of classical authors,

⁶ Dunton's Letters from N. E. (Prince Society), 314-19.

⁶ Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, 2d series, X, 540-44.

mainly in what seem to be school editions, there is an almost equally large representation; and after these comes another numerous division, comprehending Medicine, Chemistry, and Alchemy—about 125 volumes. There are smaller groups in Mathematics and Astronomy (including Astrology), about 60 in all; about 20 in Geography; and only 8 or 10 in Law,—but among them works of such note as Justinian's Institutes, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and Grotius *de jure belli*.

Judged by quality instead of quantity, the somewhat obscure entries indicate a library strongest in divinity and the classical tongues, and including in these lines some unusual treasures, such as the Works of the Venerable Bede, Casaubon's *Epistolae*, Barclay's *Argenis*, and Selden's account of the Arundel Marbles. On the side of natural science the selection was a good one, as may be judged from such specimens as a part of the Royal Society's "Philosophical Transactions," Evelyn's *Sylva*, and Harvey's epoch-making book on the circulation of the blood. In philosophy we find Bacon's "Advancement of Learning;" in history such an uncommon book as Ashmole's account of the Order of the Garter; but in pure literature only a single volume, and that probably not chosen by the owner from its literary interest,—Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*.

Of the Plymouth laymen whose libraries we have in detail, two were Governors of the Colony—William Bradford and Thomas Prince.

Bradford, also its historian, died in 1657, leaving about 100 volumes,⁷ the appraised value of which was £15.3; substantially the same volumes reappear in the inventory of his widow, Mistress Alice Bradford, thirteen years later; and an entry of identical amount appears for the third time in the estate of their son, Major William Bradford, in 1704. About half the books only are entered by title, and of these but half a dozen are outside the usual theological routine. Of those in theology but one is at all unfamiliar, Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying;" while the balance includes one medical treatise, Barrough's "Method of Physic,"

⁷ Mayflower Descendant, II, 232-33; III, 146-47; IV, 147.

the most popular of its kind in that generation, judging by the frequency of its recurrence in these lists; a copy of Guicciardini's "History of Italy;" and Jean Bodin's treatise on government, which was far from advocating the principles of the Plymouth Compact. Frequent reminders appear of the owner's sojourn in Holland; as in the inclusion of a "History of the Netherlands," of four separate books of John Robinson's, and three of Henry Ainsworth's, of one at least of the books printed in Leyden by Elder Brewster, and of "Calvine on the epistles, in Duch, with Divers other Duch bookes."

Governor Thomas Prince, who died in 1673, left 187 volumes,⁸ valued at £13. 18. 8, out of a total estate of £422; of this number, however, 100 are "Psalme books," worth 18 pence apiece, and 50 "Small paper bookes to be distributed bound up." The remaining volumes are almost all of a theological cast. There are, however, three law books; a copy of the "London Dispensatory;" a Hebrew Grammar; Laud's "Account of his conference with Fisher the Jesuit," and Prynne's "Account of Laud's Trial;" Morton's "New England's Memorial;" and finally a single volume which may without violence be classed as English literature, the "Essays" of Sir William Cornwallis, a feeble seventeenth-century imitator of Montaigne.

Next comes the library of Miles Standish, the military leader of the early Colony, who owned a collection⁹ of upwards of 50 books at his death in 1656, appraised at £11.13 in a total estate of £358. Of the titles on record, two-thirds are books in theology and kindred subjects, but a few of the others are somewhat notable. Such are, Raleigh's "History of the World," and half a dozen other equally solid historical works; Chapman's Homer's Iliad; Caesar's "Commentaries," undoubtedly in English, with one other military treatise; Gervase Markham's "Country Farmer;" Dodoens' "Herbal;" single law and medical books; and a translated volume of French essays.

Standish has been claimed as a concealed Roman Catholic, but the inventory of his books, so far as it affords any argu-

⁸ Mayflower Descendant, III, 208-09.

⁹ N. E. Hist. and General Register, V, 337.

ment, is certainly on the Protestant side. It is hard to imagine a Romanist, acquiring and retaining such an array of Protestant theology as is here, including some distinctly anti-Catholic works, as Thomas Sparke's "Answer to a Discourse against Heresies," and Calvin's "Institutes."

Last of all we come to the very remarkable private library of Elder William Brewster,¹⁰ who died in 1664, leaving an estate of only £150, of which nearly one-third, about £43, was in books, comprising over 400 volumes, one in every six of which was in the Latin tongue.

When we come to analyze this extraordinary collection, certainly appraised much below its value, we find that four-fifths come under the head of distinctively religious literature; while the next largest division, perhaps two dozen volumes, is that of history. Perhaps a dozen volumes—an altogether unprecedented experience in these summaries, may be credited to English literature; and the rest are scattered over the entire field of knowledge,—including, for instance, five or six books pertaining to the science of government, two on the art of Surveying, two in Medicine, and one (Dodoens' "Herbal") a masterpiece in Botany. There are Latin and Hebrew Grammars and lexicons; but very few texts or translations of classical authors, Lodge's Seneca being the chief example.

Among the more striking single items may be specified, Hakluyt's "Voyages," John Smith's "Description of New England," Rich's "Newes from Virginia," Camden's "Britain" (both in Latin and English), Brooke's "Catalogue of the English Nobility," and Machiavelli's "Prince" (in the Latin version).

Among the works to be included under English literature, there is none of the first rank, except Lord Bacon's "Advancement of Learning;" for poetry, two volumes of George Wither's must stand at the head; and I fear that there are specimens of no other author whose name is even faintly remembered at the present day, save Richard Brathwait's Description (in verse) of a Good Wife, and Thomas Dekker's

¹⁰ Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, 2d series, V, 38-81.

account of a magnificent entertainment given to James I. on his reception in London.

In studying these lists one thing perhaps worth notice is the frequent recurrence of certain volumes, which are not now remembered as anywise remarkable, but which seem to have enjoyed a reputation now outgrown. Such a book, for instance, is "The French Academy," a collection of essays translated in 1586 from Pierre de la Primaudaye, a copy of which is found in one after another of the libraries here chronicled. The title is borrowed from Plato's "Academy," and the book is concerned with the study, by way of dialogue, of manners or ethics. It is now hard to see whence this popular work, of which large editions must have been printed, so often does it still appear in second-hand catalogues, derived its charm.

Still more worth notice is the deduction already anticipated, of the absolute dearth in these lists of all that we have learned to regard as the glories of Elizabethan literature. A master in these studies has told us¹¹ that "before 1700 there was not in Massachusetts, so far as is known, a copy of Shakspeare's or of Milton's poems;" it does not need so sweeping a statement to convince us of the narrow horizon and the limited interests of our forefathers of that generation. We should recognize, however, in partial explanation of this dearth, the inherited prejudice against the drama which made Shakespeare an impossible element in most of the collections we have noted; and the same Puritan temper counted much else in contemporary letters frivolous which later generations have agreed to honor.

Another fact to be remarked is the strange lack of books in some houses where better things might be expected. One such surprise is in the estate of Governor John Haynes, of Hartford, an early Connecticut leader in character and lineage as well as wealth, who left property amounting to upwards of £1400, but whose only literary baggage is included in the entry, "1 greate bible and 1 gilded looking glass, 16 shillings."

¹¹ Mellen Chamberlain, Address at Dedication of Brooks Library, Brattleborough, 1887, 26.

It would be only fair to compare with these lists such libraries of the Southern Colonies as come within our knowledge. Such an one is the library left by Colonel Ralph Wormeley, of Middlesex County, at the mouth of the Rappahannock, in Virginia, once a student of Oriel College, Oxford, who died in 1701. About 400 volumes are mentioned in his inventory,¹² and of these, as in our previous instances, theology is still the largest factor; but works in civil history and law form a very considerable part of the whole, and there is what would be a most unusual proportion for New England of books which may be classed as literature.

The English drama is represented, among other authors, by the Works of Sir William Davenant, by Beaumont and Fletcher's "Fifty Comedies and Tragedies," and by Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour;" English Poetry by Hudibras and the poems of Herbert, Quarles, and Waller; while among the many exponents of the best English prose are such masterpieces as Lord Bacon's "Essays," Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," Fuller's "Worthies" and "Holy and Profane State," the "Golden Remains" of John Hales, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Howell's "Familiar Letters" and Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." The most striking items in foreign tongues are Montaigne's "Essays" and Don Quixote.

Another library of which we have particulars is one of over 200 volumes brought in 1635 by the Rev. John Goodborne,¹³ bound to Virginia, who died upon the voyage. In this case there is nothing to distinguish the Southern minister from his Northern brother. Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the whole are theological, and the rest is mainly given up to editions of classical writers or helps to classical study; but nothing can be detected of a literary flavor, except so far as that is represented in Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," and in versions of Plutarch's Lives or Virgil's Aeneid. Of smaller collections a typical one is that of Captain Arthur Spicer¹⁴ of Richmond county, Virginia, who died in 1699,

¹² William and Mary College Quarterly, II, 169-74.

¹³ Amer. Hist. Review, XI, 328-32.

¹⁴ William and Mary College Quarterly, III, 133-34.

leaving about 125 books, valued at £10. Of these towards one-half are to be accredited to law,—theology following as a faint second. The only really noticeable items are Lord Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici," and the "Eikon Basilike" attributed to Charles the First.

The materials are too scanty for safe generalization, but so far as any can be suggested they imply, as we might expect, a freer commerce in the Southern Colonies with London bookshops than in our less fertile and less opulent New England, and a more catholic taste, unhampered by austere prejudices.

For New England the fact remains, and can hardly be stated too baldly, that the early settlers and their children lived without the inspiration of literature. It was "plain living and high thinking," and that their lives and their work were worthy of reverence is all the more to their credit.

NOTES ON WITCHCRAFT.

BY GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

We are all specialists now-a-days, I suppose. The good old times of the polymath and the Doctor Universalis are gone forever. Yet signs are not wanting that some of us are alive to the danger of building our party-walls too high. In one respect, at all events, there can be no doubt that the investigators of New England antiquities are aware of their peril, though they occasionally shut their eyes to it,—I mean, the tendency to consider the Colonists as a peculiar people, separated from the Mother Country not only geographically, but also with regard to those currents of thought and feeling which are the most significant facts of history. True, there is more or less justification for that kind of study which looks at the annals of America as ends-in-themselves; but such study is ticklish business, and it now and then distorts the perspective in a rather fantastic way. This is a rank truism. Still, commonplaces are occasionally steady to the intellect, and Dr. Johnson—whose own truths have been characterized by a brilliant critic as “too true”—knew what he was about when he said that men usually need not so much to be informed as to be reminded.

The darkest page of New England history is, by common consent, that which is inscribed with the words Salem Witchcraft. The hand of the apologist trembles as it turns the leaf. The reactionary writer who prefers iconoclasm to hero-worship sharpens his pen and pours fresh gall into his inkpot when he comes to this sinister subject. Let us try to consider the matter, for a few minutes, unemotionally, and to that end let us pass in review a number of facts which may help us to look at the Witchcraft Delusion of

1692 in its due proportions,—not as an abnormal outbreak of fanaticism, not as an isolated tragedy, but as a mere incident, a brief and transitory episode in the biography of a terrible, but perfectly natural, superstition.

In the first place, we know that the New Englanders did not invent the belief in witchcraft.¹ It is a universally human belief. No race or nation is exempt from it. Formerly, it was an article in the creed of everybody in the world, and it is still held, in some form or other, and to a greater or less extent, by a large majority of mankind.²

¹ That the New Englanders brought their views on demonology and witchcraft with them from the Mother Country is a self-evident proposition, but it may be worth while to refer to a striking instance of the kind. The Rev. John Higginson, writing from Salem to Increase Mather in 1683, sends him two cases for his *Illustrious Providences*,—both of which he “believes to be certain.” The first is an account of how a mysterious stranger, thought to be the devil, once lent a conjuring book to “godly Mr. [Samuel] Sharp, who was Ruling Elder of the Church of Salem almost 30 years.” The incident took place when Sharp was a young man in London. The second narrative Mr. Higginson “heard at Gilford from a godly old man yet living. He came from Essex, and hath been in N. E. about 50 years.” It is a powerfully interesting legend of the Faust type, localized in Essex. In a postscript Mr. Higginson adds, “I had credible information of one in Leicestershire, in the time of the Long Parliament, that gave his soul to the Devil, upon condition to be a Famous Preacher, which he was for a time, &c., but I am imperfect in the story.” (Mather Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th Series, VIII, 285-287). See also the cases of witchcraft before 1692 collected in S. G. Drake’s *Annals of Witchcraft in New England*. Dr. Poole is far nearer the truth in saying that “the New-England colonists had no views concerning witchcraft and diabolical agency which they did not bring with them from the Old World” (Witchcraft in Boston, in Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, II, 131) than President White is when he remarks that “the life of the early colonists in New England was such as to give rapid growth to the germs of the doctrine of possession brought from the mother country” (*Warfare of Science with Theology*, II, 145).

² A masterly short account of the various elements which made up the fully developed doctrine of witchcraft as it was held during the three centuries of especial prosecution (1400-1700), and of the sources from which these elements were derived, may be found in the first chapter of Joseph Hansen’s *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter* (Munich and Leipzig, 1900). A learned and able essay by Professor George L. Burr, *The Literature of Witchcraft*, reprinted from the *Papers of the American Historical Association*, New York, 1890, should also be consulted. Professor Burr emphasises the sound and necessary distinction between witchcraft and magic. But he seems to go too far in his insistence on this distinction as vital in the history of witchcraft: “Magic itself is actual and universal. But witchcraft never was. It was but a shadow, a nightmare: the nightmare of a religion, the shadow of a dogma. Less than five centuries saw its birth, its vigor, its decay” (p. 238; p. 38 of reprint). This statement is true if by witchcraft is meant (and this is Professor Burr’s sense) the fully developed and highly complicated system set forth in the *Malleus Maleficarum* and in Del Rio’s *Disquisitiones Magicæ*.—what Hansen (p. 35) calls “der verhängnisvolle Sammelbegriff des Hexenwesens,”—which was not possible until scholasticism had schematized the diversified elements of belief in magic and demonology and sorcery and devil-worship which Christian theology and Christian superstition had derived from the most various sources—

Further, our own attitude of mind toward witchcraft is a very modern attitude indeed. To us, one who asserts the existence, or even the possibility, of the crime of witchcraft staggers under a burden of proof which he cannot conceivably support. His thesis seems to us unreasonable, abnormal, monstrous; it can scarcely be stated in intelligible

from Judaism, classical antiquity, Neo-Platonism, and the thousand-and-one beliefs of pagan converts. But, important as this fully developed system was—and true though it may be that without the schematising influence of scholastic philosophy the witch-prosecution which was epidemic in Europe from 1400 to 1700 could hardly have taken place—we should never forget that the essential element in witchcraft is *maleficium*,—the working of harm to the bodies and goods of one's fellow-men by means of evil spirits or of strange powers derived from intercourse with such spirits. This belief in *maleficium* was once universal; it was rooted and grounded in the minds of the people before they became Christians; it is still the creed of most savages and of millions of so-called civilized men. Throughout the history of witchcraft (in whatever sense we understand that word), it remained the ineradicable thing,—the solid foundation, unshakably established in popular belief, for whatever superstructure might be reared by the ingenuity of juriconsults, philosophers, theologians, or inquisitors. Without this popular belief in *maleficium*, the initial suspicions and complaints which form the basis and starting-point of all prosecutions would have been impossible and inconceivable. With this popular belief, the rest was easy. The error into which Professor Burr has fallen is due, no doubt, to his keeping his eye too exclusively on the Continent, where the prosecutions were most extensive, where, in truth, the fully developed system was most prevalent, and where the inquisitorial methods of procedure give to the witch-trials a peculiar air of uniformity and theological schematism. Thus he has been led, like many other historians, to over-emphasize the learned or literary side of the question. For us, however, as the descendants of Englishmen and as students of the history of English colonies in America, it is necessary to fix our attention primarily on the Mother Country. And, if we do this, we cannot fail to perceive that the obstinate belief of the common people in *maleficium*—a belief which, it cannot be too often repeated, is not the work of theologians but the universal and quasi-primitive creed of the human race—is the root of the whole matter. (On savage witchcraft see the anthropologists *passim*. Good examples may be found in Karl von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Brasiliens*, 1894, pp. 339 ff.)

On *maleficium* see especially Hansen, pp. 9 ff. Nothing could be truer than his words:—"Wie viel auch immer im Laufe der Zeit in den Begriff der Zauberei und Hexerei hineingetragen worden ist, so ist doch sein Kern stets das *Maleficium* geblieben. Aus dieser Vorstellung erwächst die angstvolle Furcht der Menschen und das Verlangen nach gesetzlichem Schutze und blutig strenger Strafe; von ihr hat die strafrechtliche Behandlung dieses Wahns ihren Ausgang genommen" (p. 9). "Das *Maleficium*, mit Ausnahme des Wettermachens, ist ohne alle Unterbrechung von der kirchlichen und bis in das 17. Jahrhundert auch von der staatlichen Autorität als Realität angenommen, seine Kraft ist nie ernstlich in Abrede gestellt worden; es bildet den roten Faden auch durch die Geschichte der strafrechtlichen Verfolgung" (p. 13). Everybody knows that the most convincing evidence of witchcraft—short of confession or of denunciation by a confederate—was held to be the *damnum minatum* and the *malum secutum*.

The difference between England and the Continent in the development of the witchcraft idea and in the history of prosecution is recognized by Hansen (p. 34, note 1). President White, like Professor Burr, has his eye primarily on the Continent (*Warfare of Science with Theology*, 1896, I, 350 ff.). His treatment of demoniacal possession, however, is much to our purpose (II, 97 ff., 135 ff.).

terms; it savors of madness. Now, before we can do any kind of justice to our forefathers,—a matter, be it remembered, of no moment to them, for they have gone to their reward, but, I take it, of considerable importance to us,—we must empty our heads of all such rationalistic ideas. To the contemporaries of William Stoughton and Samuel Sewall the existence of this crime was not merely an historical phenomenon, it was a fact of contemporary experience. Whoever denied the occurrence of witchcraft in the past, was an atheist; whoever refused to admit its actual possibility in the present, was either stubbornly incredulous, or destitute of the ability to draw an inference. Throughout the seventeenth century, very few persons could be found—not merely in New England, but in the whole world—who would have ventured to take so radical a position. That there had been witches and sorcerers in antiquity was beyond cavil. That there were, or might be, witches and sorcerers in the present was almost equally certain. The crime was recognized by the Bible, by all branches of the Church, by philosophy, by natural science, by the medical faculty, by the law of England. I do not offer these postulates as novelties. They are commonplaces. They will not be attacked by anybody who has even a slight acquaintance with the mass of testimony that might be adduced to establish them.

It is a common practice to ascribe the tenets of the New Englanders in the matter of witchcraft to something peculiar about their religious opinions,—to what is loosely called their Puritan theology. This is a very serious error. The doctrines of our forefathers differed, in this regard, from the doctrines of the Roman and the Anglican Church in no essential,—one may safely add, in no particular. Lord Bacon was not a Puritan,—yet he has left his belief in sorcery recorded in a dozen places. James I. was not a Puritan,⁸ but

⁸ King James's connection with the history of witchcraft almost deserves a monograph, for it has never been adequately discussed, and various misconceptions on the subject are afloat. Thus Mr. H. M. Doughty, in an interesting but one-sided essay on *Witchcraft and Christianity* (*Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1898, CLXIII, 388), remarks that "the new King James had long lived in abject fear of witches"—an assertion that he would find it impossible to prove, even if it were true, as it seems not to be.

his *Dæmonologie* (1597) is a classic treatise, his zeal in prosecuting sorcerers is notorious, and his statute of 1603⁴ was the act under which Matthew Hopkins, in the time of the Commonwealth, sent two hundred witches to the gallows in two years,—nearly ten times as many as perished in Massachusetts from the first settlement to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Matthew Hopkins, the Witch-Finder General, apparently *was* a Puritan. Indeed, it is his career, more than anything that ever happened in New England, which has led to the reiterated statement that Puritanism was especially favorable, by its temper and its tenets, to prosecution for witchcraft. For his activity falls in the time of the Commonwealth, and the Parliament granted a Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, in 1645, to try some of the witches that he had detected, and Edmund Calamy was associated with the Commission. But, on the other hand, it must be noted that John Gaule, who opposed Hopkins and is usually credited with most influence in putting an end to his performances, was also a Puritan,—and a minister likewise, and a believer in witches as well. The Hopkins outbreak, as we shall see, must be laid to the disturbed condition of the country rather than to the prevalence of any particular system of theology.⁵ Under Cromwell's government, witch trials languished, not because the belief in witchcraft changed, but because there was order once more. So in Scotland,

⁴ The act of 5 Eliz. c. 16 (after reciting that 33 Henr. VIII. c. 8 had been repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12) prescribes the penalty of death for witchcraft which destroys life, imprisonment for that which causes bodily injury (death for the second offence); in certain harmless kinds of sorcery (such as accompanied the search for treasure or stolen goods) the second offence is punished by imprisonment for life. 1 Jac. I. c. 12 follows 5 Eliz. c. 16 in the main. Its chief differences are,—greater detail in defining witchcraft; the insertion of a passage about digging up dead bodies for purposes of sorcery; death for the first offence in cases of witchcraft which causes bodily injury; death for the second offence in treasure-seeking sorcery and the like. Before one pronounces the new statute much severer than the old, it would be well to examine the practical operation of the two. In particular, one ought to determine how many witches were executed under the law of James I. who would not have been subject to the death penalty under the law of Elizabeth. This is not the place for such an examination. On treasure-seeking sorcery see the learned and entertaining essay of Dr. Augustus Jessopp, *Hill-Digging and Magic* (in his *Random Roaming and Other Papers*, 1893).

⁵ See p. 209 below. Strictly speaking, the Commonwealth did not begin until 1649, but this point need not be pressed.

the conquest by Cromwell checked one of the fiercest prosecutions ever known. The Restoration was followed, both in England and in Scotland, by a marked recrudescence of prosecution.⁶

But we must return to Matthew Hopkins. Let us see how his discoveries affected James Howell. In 1647 Howell writes to Endymion Porter: "We have likewise multitudes of *Witches* among us, for in *Essex* and *Suffolk* there were above two hundred indicted within these two years, and above the one half of them executed: More, I may well say, than ever this Island bred since the Creation, I speak it with horror. God guard us from the Devil, for I think he was never so busy upon any part of the Earth that was enlightened with the beams of *Christianity*; nor do I wonder at it, for there's never a Cross left to fright him away."⁷ In the following year, Howell writes to Sir Edward Spencer an elaborate defence of the current tenets in witchcraft and demonology.⁸ One striking passage demands quotation:—"Since the beginning of these unnatural Wars, there may be a cloud of Witnesses produc'd for the proof of this black Tenet: For within the compass of two years, near upon three hundred *Witches* were arraign'd, and the major part executed in *Essex* and *Suffolk* only. *Scotland* swarms with them now more than ever, and Persons of good Quality executed daily."

It is confidently submitted that nobody will accuse Howell of Puritanism. The letters from which our extracts are taken were written while he was a prisoner in the Fleet

⁶ See F. Legge, *Witchcraft in Scotland* (*Scottish Review*, XVIII, 267); Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Witchcraft*, Chap. xxv. Whitelocke, under date of Oct. 4, 1652, notes "Letters that sixty Persons Men and Women were accused before the Commissioners for Administration of Justice in *Scotland* at the last Circuit for *Witches*; but they found so much Malice and so little Proof against them that none were condemned" (*Memorials*, 1732, p. 545). Cf. also his very important entry on the same subject under Oct. 29, 1652 (pp. 547-548).

⁷ *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaſæ*, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs, 1890, book ii, letter 76, p. 506: "To my Honourable Friend, Mr. E. P., at Paris" (cf. Jacobs's notes pp. 783-784). The letter is dated "Fleet, 3 Feb. 1646." This is certainly Old Style. Howell is a queer dater, but a reference in this letter to the departure of the Scottish army (p. 505) proves that the letter was written after Dec. 21, 1646. There is a similar passage about *witches* in book iii, letter 2, p. 515 (also to Porter), dated "Fleet, 20 Feb. 1646."

⁸ Letters, as above, book iii, no. 23, pp. 547 ff., dated "Fleet, 20 Feb. 1647," i. e. doubtless 1648.

under suspicion of being a Royalist spy.⁹ His mention of the disappearance of crosses throughout England will not be overlooked by the discriminating reader. It will be noted also that he seems to have perceived a connection—a real one, as we shall see later—¹⁰ between the increase in witchcraft and the turmoil of the Civil War.

Jeremy Taylor was surely no Puritan; but he believed in witchcraft. It is a sin, he tells us, that is "infallibly desperate,"¹¹ and in his *Holy Living* (1650) he has even given the weight of his authority to the reality of sexual relations between witches and the devil.¹²

It was not in Puritan times, but in 1664, four years after the Restoration, that Sir Matthew Hale, then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, pronounced from the bench the following opinion in the Bury St. Edmunds case:—"That there were such Creatures as *Witches* he made no doubt at all; For *First*, the Scriptures had affirmed so much. *Secondly*, The wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such Persons, which is an Argument of their confidence of such a crime. And such hath been the judgment of this Kingdom, as appears by that Act of Parliament¹³ which hath provided Punishments proportionable to the quality of the Offence. And desired them [the jury], strictly to observe their Evidence; and desired the great God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in this weighty thing they had in hand: *For to Condemn the Innocent, and to let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*"¹⁴ Hale's words were

⁹ See Jacobs's Introduction, pp. xlii-xliii. The question whether Howell's letters were actually sent to the persons to whom they are addressed or whether they are to be regarded merely as literary exercises composed during his imprisonment (see Jacobs, pp. lxxi ff.) does not affect, for our purposes, the value of the quotations here made, since the letters to which we now refer actually purport to have been written in the Fleet, and since they were first published in the second edition (1650) in the additional third volume and from the nature of things could not have appeared in the first edition (1645). They must, at all events, have been composed before 1650, and are doubtless dated correctly enough.

¹⁰ See p. 209, below.

¹¹ Sermon xvii (Whole Works, ed. Heber and Eden, 1861, IV, 546).

¹² Whole Works, III, 57; cf. Sermon vii (Works, IV, 412).

¹³ See p. 152, above, note 4.

¹⁴ A Tryal of Witches, at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmunds . . . 1664 (London, 1682), pp. 55-56. This report is reprinted in Howell's *State Trials*, VI, 647 ff., and (in part) in H. L. Stephen's *State Trials Political and Social* (1899), I, 209 ff. See

fraught with momentous consequences, for he was "allowed on all hands to be the most profound lawyer of his time,"¹⁵ and the Bury case became a precedent of great weight. "It was," writes Cotton Mather, "a Tryal much considered by the Judges of New England."¹⁶

Hale's conduct on this occasion has of course subjected him to severe criticism. Lord Campbell, for example, goes so far as to declare that he "murdered" the old women,—a dictum which shows but slight comprehension of the temper of the seventeenth century. More creditable to Campbell's historical sense is the following passage:—"Although, at the present day, we regard this trial as a most lamentable exhibition of credulity and inhumanity, I do not know that it at all lowered Hale in public estimation in his own life."¹⁷ Bishop Burnet, as is well-known, makes no mention

also Hutchinson, *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, chap. viii. (1718. pp. 109 ff.; 2d ed., 1720, pp. 139 ff.); Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Witchcraft*, II., 261 ff. Hale's opinion was regarded as settling the law beyond peradventure. It is quoted, in *A True and Impartial Relation of the Informations against Three Witches. . . Assizes holden for the County of Devon at the Castle of Exon, Aug. 14, 1682* (London, 1682), Address to the Reader. For Roger North's comments on the Exeter case, see p. 192, below. *A Collection of Modern Relations of Matters of Fact, concerning Witches & Witchcraft, Part I* (London, 1693), contains "A Discourse concerning the great Mercy of God, in preserving us from the Power and Malice of Evil Angels. Written by Sir Matt. Hale at Cambridge 26 Mar. 1661. Upon occasion of a Tryal of certain Witches before him the Week before at St. Edmund's Bury." The date is wrong (1661 should be 1664) but the trial is identified with that which we are considering by the anonymous compiler of the Collection in the following words: "There is a Relation of it in print, written by his Marshal, which I suppose is very true, though to the best of my Memory, not so compleat, as to some observable Circumstances, as what he related to me at his return from that Circuit." The date of the trial is given as "the Tenth day of March, 1664" on the title-page of the report (*A Tryal of Witches*) and on page 1 as "the Tenth day of March, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of . . . Charles II." On page 57 the year is misprinted "1662." Howell's *State Trials*, VI, 647, 687, makes it 1665, but 16 Charles II. corresponds to Jan. 30, 1664—Jan. 29, 1665: hence 1664 is right. The (unfinished) Discourse just mentioned must not be confused with Hale's *Motives to Watchfulness*, in reference to the Good and Evil Angels, which may be found in his *Contemplations Moral and Divine*, London, 1682 (licensed 1675-8), Part II, pp. 67 ff.

¹⁵ Roger North, *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, ed. 1826, I, 121.

¹⁶ *Wonders of the Invisible World* (London, 1693), p. 55. Mather also reproduces the substance of the report above referred to (note 14) in the same work. Bragge, too, reproduces it, in the main, in his tract, *Witchcraft Farther Display'd*, 1712, in support of the accusation against Jane Wenham.

¹⁷ *Lives of the Chief Justices*, 1849, I, 561 ff., Chapter xvii. See also the criticism of Hale in a letter of George Onslow's, 1770, 14th Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix, Part IX, p. 480.

of the case in his *Life of Hale*.¹⁸ One might surmise that he omitted it out of respect for his hero's memory, since his little book is rather an obituary tribute than a biography. More probably, however, Burnet did not regard the case as any more significant than many other decisions of Hale's which he likewise passed over in silence. Unequivocal evidence that the Bury trial did not injure Hale's reputation may be found in the silence of Roger North. North's elaborate character of Hale, in his *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*,¹⁹ is notoriously prejudiced in the extreme. Though admitting Hale's legal learning and many good qualities, North loses no opportunity to attack his record. Besides, North praises the Lord Keeper for his conduct in procuring the acquittal of an alleged witch. If, then, the Bury case had seemed to him especially discreditable, or if he had thought that it afforded an opening for hostile criticism, we cannot doubt that he would have spoken out in condemnation. His complete silence on the subject is therefore the most emphatic testimony to the general approval of Hale's proceedings. Highly significant, too, is the fact that even Lord Campbell does not blame Hale for believing in witchcraft, but only for allowing weight to the evidence in this particular case. "I would very readily have pardoned him," he writes, "for an undoubting belief in witchcraft, and I should have considered that this belief detracted little from his character for discernment and humanity. The Holy Scriptures teach us that, in some ages of the world, wicked persons, by the agency of evil spirits, were permitted, through means which exceed the ordinary powers of nature, to work mischief to their fellow-creatures. . . . In the reign of Charles II., a judge who from the bench should have expressed a disbelief in [magic and the black art] would have been thought to show little respect for human laws, and to be nothing better than an atheist." We may profitably compare what Guilford himself (then Francis North, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) wrote of the Devonshire witches in 1682,—nearly twenty years

¹⁸ Published in 1682.

¹⁹ Edition of 1826, I, 117 ff.

after the Bury case:—"We cannot reprieve them, without appearing to deny the very being of witches, which, as it is contrary to law, so I think it would be ill for his Majesty's service, for it may give the faction occasion to set afoot the old trade of witch-finding, that may cost many innocent persons their lives which the justice will prevent."²⁰

Sir Thomas Browne, the author of the *Religio Medici*, was no Puritan, and he was one of the leading scientific men of his day. Yet he gave his opinion, as an expert, at the request of the Court in this same Bury St. Edmunds case, to the following effect:—"That the Devil in such cases did work upon the Bodies of Men and Women, upon a Natural Foundation, (that is) to stir up, and excite such humours super-abounding in their Bodies to a great excess,"²¹ and further, that "he conceived, that these swooning Fits were Natural, and nothing else but what they call the Mother,"²² but only heightened to a great excess by the subtilty of the Devil, co-operating with the Malice of these which we term Witches, at whose Instance he doth these Villanies."²³

Browne has been much blamed for this dictum, but there is nothing unreasonable or unscientific in it, if one merely grants the actuality of demoniacal possession, which was then to all intents and purposes an article of faith. If the devil can work upon our bodies at all, of course he can intensify any natural fits or spasms from which we happen to be suffering. Thus Browne's diagnosis of the disease in this case as hysteria, by no means excluded the hypothesis of *maleficium*. But most modern writers refuse to discuss such subjects except *de haut en bas*,—from the vantage-ground of modern science.

Sir Thomas Browne's view was, it seems, substantially identical with that of his predecessor, the famous Robert Burton,—no Puritan either!—who has a whole subsection

²⁰State Papers (Domestic), 1682, Aug. 19, bundle 427, no. 67, as quoted by Pike, *History of Crime in England*, II, 238.

²¹A Tryal of Witches, as above, p. 41.

²²That is, *hysteria*.

²³A Tryal, as above, p. 42. Cf. the Supplementary Memoir, in Simon Wilkin's edition of Browne's Works, 1852, I, liv-lvi.

"Of Witches and Magitians, how they cause Melancholy," asserting that what "they can doe, is as much almost as the Diuell himsele, who is still ready to satisfie their desires, to oblige them the more vnto him."²⁴

Joseph Glanvill, the author of *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, was no Puritan,²⁵ but a skeptical philosopher, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II.; neither was his friend, Dr. Henry More, the most celebrated of the Cambridge Platonists. Yet these two scholars and latitudinarians joined forces to produce that extraordinary treatise, *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, A Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions*. This book, an enlarged form of Glanvill's *Philosophical Considerations concerning Witchcraft* (1666), was published in 1681, and went through no less than five editions, the last appearing as late as 1726.²⁶ It was thought to have put the belief in apparitions and witchcraft on an unshakable basis of science and philosophy.²⁷ No English work on the subject had a more powerful influence. When the Rev. John Hale, of Beverley, wrote his *Modest Enquiry*,²⁸ which deplored the Salem excesses and protested against spectral evidence,—a notable treatise, published, with a prefatory epistle from the venerable Higginson,²⁹ in 1702,—he was able to condense the affirm-

²⁴ *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, Part I, section 2, member 1, subsection 3. I quote from the edition of 1624.

²⁵ The following short character of Glanvill, by Bishop Kennet, may be quoted, not because it is just, but because it might conceivably be brought forward by somebody in rebuttal of this proposition:—"Mr. Joseph Glanvill of Lincoln College, Oxon. Taking the Degree of M. A. in the beginning of 1658, was about that Time made Chaplain to old Francis Rous, one of Oliver's Lords, and Provost of Eaton College.—He became a great Admirer of Mr. Richard Baxter, and a sealous Person for a Commonwealth. After his Majesty's Restauration he turn'd about, became a Latitudinarian, —Rector of Bath, Prebendary of Worcester, and Chaplain to the King" (White Kennet, *An Historical Register*, 1744, p. 931).

²⁶ See Dr. Ferris Greenslet's *Joseph Glanvill, A Study in English Thought and Letters of the Seventeenth Century*, New York, 1900, especially Chap. vi. For a bibliography of Glanvill, see Emanuel Green, *Bibliotheca Somersetensis*, Taunton (Eng.), 1902, I, 206 ff.

²⁷ More's theories on the subject of apparitions, demons, and witches may also be read, at considerable length, in his *Antidote against Atheism*, Book iii, Chaps. 2-13 (*Philosophical Writings*, 2d ed., 1662, pp. 89 ff.); cf. the Appendix to the *Antidote*, Chaps. 12-13 (pp. 181 ff.) and *The Immortality of the Soul*, Chap. 16 (pp. 129 ff.).

²⁸ *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*, Boston, 1702.

²⁹ Dated 1697-8.

ative part of his argument, because, as he himself says, Glanvill "hath strongly proved the being of Witches."³⁰

Dr. Meric Casaubon, Prebend of Canterbury, was not a Puritan; yet the second part of his *Credulity and Incredulity* (1668) contains a vigorous assertion of demonology and witch-lore, and was republished in 1672 under the alluring title, *A Treatise Proving Spirits, Witches and Supernatural Operations by Pregnant Instances and Evidences*.³¹

Ralph Cudworth, the antagonist of Hobbes, was not a Puritan. Yet in his great *Intellectual System* he declares for the existence of sorcery, and even admits a distinction between its higher operations—as in the *theurgy* of Apollonius of Tyana³²—and the vulgar performances of everyday wizards.³³ There is some reason, too, for supposing that Cudworth took part with Henry More in examining certain witches at Cambridge, and heard one of them try to recite the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, as she had offered to do "as an argument she was no witch."³⁴

³⁰ P. 12.

³¹ Meric Casaubon was born in 1599 and died in 1671. His learned, lively, and vastly entertaining work, *A Treatise concerning Enthusiasme, as it is an Effect of Nature: but is mistaken by many for either Divine Inspiration, or Diabolical Possession*, appeared in 1655, and in a "Second edition: revised, and enlarged" in 1656. It shows an open mind and a temper rather skeptical than credulous. Passages of interest in our present discussion may be found on pp. 37-41, 44, 49, 94-95, 100, 118, 174 (Quakers), 286, of the second edition. Of particular significance is the Doctor's account of his visit to a man who was thought to be possessed but whom he believed to be suffering from some bodily distemper (pp. 97 ff.). Casaubon's treatise (in two parts) *Of Credulity and Incredulity, in Things Natural, Civil, and Divine*, came out in 1668, and was reissued, with a new title-page (as above), in 1672. A third part, *Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine and Spiritual*, appeared in 1670. Webster's assault upon Casaubon in his *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* was made in apparent ignorance of the fact that the venerable scholar had been dead for some years (see p. 169, below).

³² Compare Reginald Scot's chapter "Of Theurgie, with a Confutation thereof" (*Discoverie of Witchcraft*, book xv, chap. 42, 1584, p. 466, ed. 1665, p. 280). See also Henry Hallywell, *Melampronoea: or A Discourse of the Polity and Kingdom of Darkness. Together with a Solution of the Chiefest Objections brought against the Being of Witches*, 1681, pp. 50-51.

³³ Cap. iv, §15, ed. Mosheim, 1773, I, 395-396.

³⁴ *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, ed. 1726, p. 336; see James Crossley's Introduction to Potts, *Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster*, reprinted from the Edition of 1613 (Chetham Society, 1845), p. vi, note 2. This experiment was twice tried as late as 1712, in the case of Jane Wenham, by the Rev. Mr. Strutt, once in the presence of Sir Henry Chauncy, and again in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner. Its ill success is recorded by a third Anglican clergyman,—Mr. Francis Bragge (*A Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, Practis'd by Jane Wenham*, London, 1712, pp. 11, 15).

Robert Boyle, the improver of the air-pump and the discoverer of Boyle's Law, had "particular and considerable advantages to persuade [him], upon good grounds" that some witch stories are true, and he thought that Glanvill's investigations would do "a good service to religion."⁸⁵ This was in 1677. In the following year Boyle declared his belief⁸⁶ in the performances of the devil of Mascon.⁸⁷ Boyle's religious views did not hinder him from being a leader in that fervor of scientific experimentation which is one of the glories of the latter half of the seventeenth century. And he too was not a Puritan.

Isaac Barrow, the master of Newton, was not a Puritan. Yet he left on record, in one of his sermons, one of the most powerful and eloquent of all protests against disbelief in the kind of phenomena which our ancestors are so often attacked for crediting. The passage is long, but must be quoted in full, for every word is of weight:—

"I may adjoin to the former sorts of extraordinary actions, some other sorts, the consideration of which (although not so directly and immediately) may serve our main design; those (which the general opinion of mankind hath approved, and manifold testimony hath declared frequently to happen) which concern apparitions from another world, as it were, of beings unusual; concerning spirits haunting persons and places, (these discerned by all senses, and by divers kinds of effects;) of which the old world (the ancient poets and historians) did speak so much, and of which all ages have afforded several attestations very direct and plain, and having all advantages imaginable to beget credence; concerning visions made unto persons of especial eminency and influence, (to priests and prophets;) concerning presignifications of future events by dreams; concerning the power of enchantments, implying the cooperation of invisible powers; concerning all sorts of intercourse and confederacy (formal or virtual) with bad spirits: all which

⁸⁵ Letter to Glanvill, Sept. 18, 1677, Works, ed. Birch, V, 244. Compare Dr. Samuel Collins's letter to Boyle, Sept. 1, 1663 (Boyle's Works, V, 633-634).

⁸⁶ In a letter to Glanvill (Works, V, 245).

⁸⁷ See *Demonologie ou Traitté des Demons et Sorciers . . . Par Fr. Perreaud. Ensemble l'Antidemon de Mascon, ou Histoire Veritable de ce qu'un Demon a fait & dit, il y a quelques années, en la maison dudit S^r. Perreaud à Mascon.* Geneva, 1653.

things he that shall affirm to be mere fiction and delusion, must thereby with exceeding immodesty and rudeness charge the world with extreme both vanity and malignity; many, if not all, worthy historians, of much inconsiderateness or fraud; most lawgivers, of great silliness and rashness; most judicatories, of high stupidity or cruelty; a vast number of witnesses, of the greatest malice or madness; all which concurred to assert these matters of fact.

"It is true, no question, but there have been many vain pretences, many false reports, many unjust accusations, and some undue decisions concerning these matters; that the vulgar sort is apt enough to be abused about them; that even intelligent and considerate men may at a distance in regard to some of them be imposed upon; but, as there would be no false gems obtruded, if there were no true ones found in nature; as no counterfeit coin would appear, were there no true one current; so neither can we well suppose that a confidence in some to feign, or a readiness in most to believe, stories of this kind could arise, or should subsist, without some real ground, or without such things having in gross somewhat of truth and reality. However, that the wiser and more refined sort of men, highest in parts and improvements both from study and experience, (indeed the flower of every commonwealth; statesmen, lawgivers, judges, and priests,) upon so many occasions of great importance, after most deliberate scanning such pretences and reports, should so often suffer themselves to be deluded, to the extreme injury of particular persons concerned, to the common abusing of mankind, to the hazard of their own reputation in point of wisdom and honesty, seems nowise reasonable to conceive. In likelihood rather the whole kind of all these things, were it altogether vain and groundless, would upon so frequent and so mature discussions have appeared to be so, and would consequently long since have been disowned, exploded, and thrust out of the world; for, as upon this occasion it is said in Tully, 'Time wipeth out groundless conceits, but confirms that which is founded in nature, and real.'

"Now if the truth and reality of these things, (all or any of them,) inferring the existence of powers invisible, at least inferior ones, though much superior to us in all sort of ability, be admitted, it will at least (as removing the

chief obstacles of incredulity) confer much to the belief of that supreme Divinity, which our Discourse strives to maintain.³⁸

Dr. George Hickes, of *Thesaurus* fame, was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. He was also a Non-juror, and titular Bishop of Thetford. In other words, he was not a Puritan. Yet in 1678 Hickes published an account of the infamous Major Weir, the most celebrated of all Scottish wizards, which betrays no skepticism on the cardinal points of sorcery.³⁹ There is also an extremely interesting letter from the Doctor to Mr. Pepys, dated June 19, 1700, which indicates a belief in witchcraft and second sight. The most curious part of this letter, however, deals with Elf Arrows. "I have another strange story," writes Dr. Hickes, "but very well attested, of an Elf arrow, that was shot at a venerable Irish Bishop by an Evil Spirit in a terrible noise, louder than thunder, which shook the house where the Bishop was; but this I reserve for his son to tell you, who is one of the deprived Irish Clergymen, and very well known, as by other excellent pieces, so by his late book, entitled, 'The Snake in the Grass.'"⁴⁰ What would the critics say if this passage were found in a work of Cotton Mather's?

Finally, it is not amiss to remember that the tolerant, moderate, and scholarly John Evelyn, whom nobody will accuse of being a Puritan, made the following entry in his *Diary* under February 3d, 1692-3:—"Unheard-of stories of the universal increase of Witches in New England; men, women and children devoting themselves to the devil, so as to threaten the subversion of the government. At the same time there was a conspiracy amongst the negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discovered by overhearing a discourse of two of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the designe." There is no indication

³⁸ *Theological Works*, ed. 1830, IV, 480-482.

³⁹ In his *Ravillae Redivivus*, reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, 2d ed., VIII, 510 ff. (see especially pp. 546 ff.). Weir, who was unquestionably insane, was executed in 1670.

⁴⁰ *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, London, 1885, IV, 275. On elf-arrows cf. *Pitcairn, Criminal Trials in Scotland*, I, ii, 192, 198; III, 607, 609, 615; W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, 1879, pp. 185 ff.

that Evelyn regarded either of these conspiracies as less possible of occurrence than the other.⁴¹

Most of these passages are sufficiently well known, and their significance in the abstract is cheerfully granted, I suppose, by everybody. But the cumulative effect of so much testimony from non-Puritans is, I fear, now and then disregarded or overlooked by writers who concern themselves principally with the annals of New England. Yet the bearing of the evidence is plain enough. The Salem outbreak was not due to Puritanism; it is not assignable to any peculiar temper on the part of our New England ancestors; it is no sign of exceptional bigotry or abnormal superstition. Our forefathers believed in witchcraft, not because they were Puritans, not because they were Colonials, not because they were New Englanders,—but because they were men of their time. They shared the feelings and beliefs of the best hearts and wisest heads of the seventeenth century. What more can be asked of them?⁴²

I am well aware that there are a few distinguished names that are always entered on the other side of the account, and some of them we must now consider. It would be unpardonable to detract in any manner from the dear-bought fame of such forerunners of a better dispensation. But we must not forget that they *were* forerunners. They occupy a much more conspicuous place in modern books than they occupied in the minds of their contemporaries.⁴³ Further, if we listen closely to the words of these voices in the wilderness, we shall find that they do not sound in unison, and that their testimony is not in all cases precisely what

⁴¹ Evelyn may have derived his information from Sir William Phips's letter to the home government (Oct. 14, 1692), as Dr. G. H. Moore suggests (*Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts*, N. Y., 1885, p. 66). For the letter see Goodell, *Essex Institute Collections*, 2d Series, I, ii, 86 ff. Phips's second letter (Feb. 21, 1692-3, to the Earl of Nottingham) is printed by Moore, pp. 90 ff.

⁴² The remark, sometimes heard, that Calvinism was especially responsible for witch trials is a loose assertion which has to reckon with the fact that the last burning for witchcraft at Geneva took place in 1652 (see Paul Ladame, *Procès criminel de la dernière Sorcière brûlée à Genève*, Paris, 1888).

⁴³ Compare Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I, section 2, member 1, subsection 3:—"Many deny Witches at all, or if there be any, they can doe no harme: of this opinion is *Wierus*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 53, *de præstig. dem.* Austin Lerchemer, a Dutch writer, *Biarmanus*, *Euichius*, *Euwaldus*, our countryman *Scot.* . . but on the contrary are most Lawyers, Diuines, Physitians, Philosophers."

we should infer from the loose statements often made about them.

Johann Wier, or Weyer (1515-1588), deserves all the honor he has ever received. He devoted years to the study of demonology, and brought his great learning, and his vast experience as a physician, to bear on the elucidation of the whole matter.⁴⁴ He held that many of the performances generally ascribed to devils and witches were impossible, and that the witches themselves were deluded. But there is another side to the picture. Wier's book is crammed full of what we should now-a-days regard as the grossest superstition. He credited Satan and his attendant demons with extensive powers. He believed that the fits of the so-called bewitched persons were due in large part to demoniacal possession or obsession, and that the witches themselves, though innocent of what was alleged against them, were in many cases under the influence of the devil, who made them think that they had entered into infernal compacts, and ridden through the air on broomsticks, and killed their neighbors' pigs, and caused disease or death by occult means. And further, he was convinced that such persons as Faust, whom he called *magi*, were acquainted with strange and damnable arts, and that they were worthy of death and their books of the fire. One example may serve to show the world-wide difference between Wier's mental attitude and our own.

One of the best known symptoms of bewitchment was the vomiting of bones, nails, needles, balls of wool, bunches of hair, and other things, some of which were so large that they could not have passed through the throat by any natural means.⁴⁵ Such phenomena, Wier tells us, he had himself seen. How were they to be explained? Easily, according to Wier's general theory. Such articles, he says,

⁴⁴ Wier's great work, *De Praestigiis Dæmonum*, was published in 1563, and was afterwards much enlarged. It went through many editions.

⁴⁵ See the extraordinary list in William Drage, *Daimonomageia. A Small Treatise of Sickneses and Diseases from Witchcraft, and Supernatural Causes*, 1665. Webster considers this subject at length in Chap. xii of his *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, 1677, with a full discussion of van Helmont's views. Cf. Henry More, *Antidote against Atheism*, Chaps. 4-5 (*Philosophical Writings*, 2d ed., 1662, pp. 97 ff.).

are put into the patient's mouth by the devil, one after another, as fast as they come out. We cannot see him do this,—either because he acts so rapidly that his motions are invisible, or because he fascinates our sight, or because he darkens our eyes, perhaps by interposing between them and the patient some ærial body.⁴⁶

The instability of Wier's position should not be brought against him as a reproach, since he was far in advance of his contemporaries, and since his arguments against the witch dogma are the foundation of all subsequent skepticism on the subject.⁴⁷ Besides, it is certain that such a thorough-going denial of the devil's power as Bekker made a century later would have utterly discredited Wier's book and might even have prevented it from being published at all.⁴⁸ Yet, when all is said and done, it must be admitted that Wier's doctrines have a half-hearted appearance, and that they seemed to most seventeenth-century scholars to labor under a gross inconsistency. This inconsistency was emphasized by Meric Casaubon. "As for them," writes Dr. Casaubon, "who allow and acknowledge *supernatural operations* by Devils and Spirits, as *Wierius*; who tells as many strange stories of them, and as *incredible*, as are to be found in any book; but stick at the business of *Witches* only, whom they would not have thought the Authors of those mischiefs, that are usually laid to their charge, but the Devil only; though this opinion may seem to some, to have more of *charity*, than *Incredulity*; yet the contrary will easily appear to them, that shall look into it more carefully." And Casaubon dwells upon the fact that Wier grants "no small part of what we drive at, when he doth acknowledge *supernatural operations*, by Devils and Spirits."⁴⁹ Indeed, the apparent contradiction in Wier's theories may also excuse

⁴⁶ "Ea demonis subtilitate uelocitateque imperceptibili, ori ingesta, nostris ad hæc oculis uel celeritate eius uictis, uel fascino delusis, uel interiecto corpore aereo aut aliter motis eo intus uel foris uel utrinque humoribus aut spiritu caligantibus." *De Præstigiis Dæmonum* (Basileæ, 1568), iv, 2, pp. 352-353.

⁴⁷ Even Bekker (see p. 180, below), who approaches the subject from the philosophical direction, and whose logical process is different from Wier's, is greatly indebted to him.

⁴⁸ Compare the fate of Bekker in 1692 (p. 184).

⁴⁹ A *Treatise* proving Spirits, Witches and Supernatural Operations, 1672, p. 38.

Casaubon for the suggestion he makes that Wier's intention "was not so much to favour *women*, as the *Devil* himself, with whom, it is to be feared, that he was too well acquainted."⁶⁰ This reminds us of what King James had already written of "Wierus, a German Physition," who "sets out a publike Apologie for all these craftes-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainly bewrayes himselfe to have bene one of that profession."⁶¹

Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* appeared in 1584. Scot, who was largely indebted to Wier, goes much farther than his Continental predecessor. Of course he does not deny the existence of evil spirits;⁶² but he does not believe, like Wier, that evil spirits are continually occupied in deluding mankind by all manner of false (or 'prestigious' appearances. Such deceits he ascribes to juggling, and he accordingly gives elaborate directions for the performance of various tricks of legerdemain.⁶³

There seems to be a more or less prevalent impression that Scot's book explodes witchcraft so thoroughly that the whole delusion might soon have come to an end in England if James I. had not mounted the throne a short time after it was published. True, King James's *Dæmonologie* is expressly directed "against the damnable opinions" of Wier and Scot.⁶⁴ But, to tell the truth, Scot's treatise

⁶⁰ The same, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Dæmonologie*, Workes, 1616, p. 92. On Wier in general, see Carl Bins, Doctor Johann Weyer, ein rheinischer Arzt, der erste Bekämpfer des Hexenwahns, Berlin, 1896.

⁶² He expressly asserts his belief in their existence (*A Discourse upon Divels and Spirita*, chap. 32, p. 540; cf. chap. 16, p. 514).

⁶³ *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, xiii, 22-34, ed. 1584, pp. 321 ff., ed. 1665, pp. 181-201 (with cuts). Most of the tricks which Scot describes are identical with feats of legerdemain that are the stock in trade of every modern juggler:—"To throwe a peece of monie awaie, and to find it againe where you list" (p. 326); "To make a grout or a testor to sinke through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher very straunglie" (p. 327); "How to deliver out foure aces, and to convert them into foure knaves" (p. 333); "To tell one without confederacie what card he thinketh" (p. 334); "To burne a thred, and to make it whole againe with the ashes thereof" (p. 341); "To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, &c.: which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist" (p. 349). The picture of the apparatus required for the last-mentioned trick is very curious indeed (p. 353). The references to Scot, unless the contrary is stated, are to all the pages of the first (1584) edition, as reprinted by Dr. Brinsley Nicholson (London, 1886).

⁶⁴ King James remarks, in the Preface to his *Dæmonologie*, that Scot "is not ashamed in publike Print to deny, that there can be such a thing as Witch-craft: and so main-taines the old error of the Sadduces in denying of spirits" (Workes, 1616, pp. 91-92).

did not require a royal refutation. To us moderns, who are converted already and need no repentance, its general air of reasonableness, together with its humor and the raciness of the style, makes the *Discoverie* seem convincing enough. But this is to look at the matter from a mistaken point of view. The question is, not how Scot's arguments affect us, but how they were likely to affect his contemporaries. Now, if the truth must be told, the *Discoverie* is deficient in one very important respect. It makes no satisfactory answer to the insistent questions: "What are these evil spirits of which the Bible and the philosophers tell us, and which everybody believes in, and always has believed in, from the beginning of time? And what are they about? If they are powerful and malignant, why is it not likely that the effects which everybody ascribes to them are really their work? And if they are eager not only to torment but to seduce mankind, why is it not reasonable to suppose that they accomplish both ends at the same time—kill two birds with one stone—by procuring such evil effects by means of witches, or by allowing themselves to be utilized by witches as instruments of malice?" It was quite proper to ask these questions of Scot. He admitted the existence of evil spirits, but declared that we know little or nothing about them, denied that they can produce the phenomena then generally ascribed to their agency, and alleged fraud and delusion to account for such phenomena. Even to us, with our extraordinary and very modern incredulity toward supernatural occurrences, the lacuna in Scot's reasoning is clear enough if we only look at his argument as a whole. This we are not inclined to do; at least, no historian of witchcraft has ever done it. It is easier and more natural for us to accept such portions of Scot's argument as agree with our own view, to compliment him for his perspicacity, and to pass on, disregarding the inadequacy of what he says about evil spirits. Or, if we notice that his utterances on this topic are halting and uncertain, we are tempted to regard such hesitancy as further evidence of his rational temper. He could not quite deny the existence of devils, we feel,—that would

have been too much to expect of him; but he waves them aside like a sensible man.⁵⁵ A moment's consideration, however, will show us that this defect in Scot's case, trifling as it appears to us now-a-days, was in fact a very serious thing. To us, who never think of admitting the intervention of evil spirits in the affairs of this world, the question whether there are any such spirits at all has a purely theoretical interest. Indeed, we practically deny their existence when we ignore them as we do: *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est lex*.—But to Scot's contemporaries, the question of the existence of evil spirits involved the whole matter in debate,—and Scot granted their existence.

A curious particular in the history of Scot's Discoverie should also be considered in estimating its effect on the seventeenth century. The appearance of a new edition in 1665, shortly after the famous Bury St. Edmunds case,⁵⁶ may at first sight seem to indicate powerful and continuing influence on the part of the Discoverie. When we observe from the title-page, however, that the publisher has inserted nine chapters at the beginning of Book xv, and has added a second book to the Treatise on Divels and Spirits, our curiosity is excited. Investigation soon shows that these additions were calculated to destroy or minimize the total effect of Scot's book. The prefixed chapters contain directions for making magical circles, for calling up "the ghost of one that hath hanged himself," and for raising various orders of spirits. These chapters are thrust in without any attempt to indicate that they are not consistent with Scot's general plan and his theories. They appear to be, and are, practical directions for magic and necromancy. The additional book is even more dangerous to Scot's design. It is prefaced by the remark:—"Because the Author in his foregoing Treatise, upon the *Nature of Spirits and Devils*, hath only touched the subject thereof superficially, omitting the more material part; and with a brief and cursory Tractat,

⁵⁵ In what an orderly way one may proceed from an admission of the doctrine of fallen angels to the final results of the witch dogma may be seen, for instance, in Henry Hallywell's *Melampronoea: or A Discourse of the Polity and Kingdom of Darkness*, 1681. Hallywell had been a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

⁵⁶ See p. 154, above.

hath concluded to speak the least of this subject which indeed requires most amply to be illustrated; therefore I thought fit to adjoyn this subsequent discourse; as succedaneous to the fore-going, and conducing to the compleating of the whole work."⁵⁷

How far "this subsequent discourse" is really fitted to complete Scot's work may be judged by a statement which it makes on the very first page, to the effect that bad spirits "are the grand Instigators, stirring up mans heart to attempt the inquiry after the darkest, and most mysterious part of Magick, or Witchcraft." And again a little later:—"Great is the villany of Necromancers, and wicked Magicians, in dealing with the spirits of men departed; whom they invoke, with certain forms, and conjurations, digging up their Carkasses again, or by the help of Sacrifices, and Oblations to the infernal Gods; compelling the Ghost to present it self before them."⁵⁸ All this is quite opposed to Scot's view and the whole intention of his book. The insertion of such worthless matter was, of course, a mere trick of the bookseller to make a new edition go off well. But the fact of its insertion shows that Scot was thought to have left his treatise incomplete or unsatisfactory in a most important point. And the inserted matter itself must have gone far to neutralize the effect of republication in a witch-haunted period. And so we may leave Reginald Scot, with our respect for his courage and common sense undiminished, but with a clear idea of the slight effect which his treatise must have had on the tone and temper of the age that we are studying.

John Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, which appeared in 1677—the Preface is dated "February 23. 1673"—was particularly directed against Glanvill and Meric Casaubon. It holds a distinguished place in the history of witchcraft, and demands our careful scrutiny. What is usually thought of it has been eloquently expressed by the late Mr. James Crossley. "In this memorable book," writes Mr. Crossley, "he exhausts the subject, as far as

⁵⁷ P. 39. See Nicholson's reprint of the 1584 edition, p. xlii.

⁵⁸ Page 46.

it is possible to do so, by powerful ridicule, cogent arguments, and the most varied and well applied learning, leaving to [Francis] Hutchinson, and others who have since followed in his track, little further necessary than to reproduce his facts and reasonings in a more popular, it can scarcely be said, in a more effective form."⁵⁹

A few of Webster's opinions must be specified, that the reader may judge how far *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* deserves to rank as a work of sober and scientific reason, and to what extent the author merits the position that seems to be traditionally assigned to him as an uncompromising assailant of superstition.

Angels, good and bad, are "really and truly corporeal" and not spirits, except "in a relative and respective" sense.⁶⁰ Since devils are corporeal, Webster admits that "they may move and agitate other bodies." Their strength, however, is limited, "for though one Devil may be supposed to move or lift up that which would load an Horse, yet it will not follow that he can move or lift up as much as would load a Ship of a thousand Tun."⁶¹ Webster grants that "God doth make use of evil Angels to punish the wicked, and to chastise and afflict the godly, and in the effecting of these things that they have a power given them to hurt the earth and the Sea and things therein, as to bring tempests, thunder, lightning, plague, death, drought and the like."⁶²

Webster has a profound belief in apparitions and tells some capital ghost stories⁶³—"unquestionable testimonies," he calls them, "either from our own Annals, or matters of fact that we know to be true of our own certain knowledge, that thereby it may undoubtedly appear, that there are effects that exceed the ordinary power of natural causes, and may for ever convince all Atheisticall minds."⁶⁴ One of

⁵⁹ Introduction to the Chetham Society reprint of Potts's *Discoverie of Witches*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

⁶⁰ Pages 202-215.

⁶¹ P. 228. Perhaps Webster is merely "putting a case" here; but he certainly seems to be making an admission, at least in theory.

⁶² Page 230.

⁶³ Pages 294 ff.

⁶⁴ Page 294.

these tales concerns the murder of one Fletcher by Ralph Raynard, an innkeeper, and Mark Dunn, a hired assassin. One day "the spirit of *Fletcher* in his usual shape and habit did appear unto [Raynard], and said, Oh *Raph*, repent, repent, for my revenge is at hand." The result was a full confession. "I have recited this story punctually," writes Webster, "as a thing that hath been very much fixed in my memory, being then but young, and as a certain truth, I being (with many more) an ear-witness of their confessions and an eye-witness of their Executions, and likewise saw *Fletcher* when he was taken up, where they had buried him in his cloaths, which were a green fustian doublet pinkt upon white, gray breeches, and his walking boots and brass spurrs without rowels." The spectre, Webster is convinced, was an "extrinsick apparition to *Raynard*," and not the mere effect of a guilty conscience "which represented the shape of *Fletcher* in his fancy." The thing could not, he thinks, "be brought to pass either by the Devil, or *Fletcher's* Soul," and therefore he "concludes that either it was wrought by the Divine Power,...or that it was the Astral or Sydereal Spirit of *Fletcher*, seeking revenge for the murther."⁶⁵

Webster also believes fully in the "bleeding or cruentation of the bodies of those that have been murthered," particularly at the touch of the murderer or in his presence, and he gives a very curious collection of examples, in some of which "the murtherers had not been certainly known but by the bleeding of the body murthered."⁶⁶ The most probable explanation of such phenomena he finds in the existence of the astral spirit, "that, being a middle substance, betwixt the Soul and the Body doth, when separated from the Body, wander or hover near about it, bearing with it the irascible and concupiscible faculties, wherewith being stirred up to hatred and revenge, it causeth that ebullition and motion in the blood, that exudation of blood upon the weapon, and those other wonderful motions of the Body, Hands, Nostrils and Lips, thereby to discover the

⁶⁵ Pages 297-298.

⁶⁶ Pages 302-310.

murderer, and bring him to condign punishment."⁶⁷ In some cases, however, Webster holds that the soul has not actually departed, "and God may in his just judgment suffer the Soul to stay longer in the murdered Body, that the cry of blood may make known the murderer, or may not so soon, for the same reason, call it totally away."⁶⁸

These specimens of Webster's temper of mind might perhaps suffice to show with what slight justification he has been regarded as a scientific rationalist. We must not dismiss him, however, until we have scrutinized his views on the subject of witchcraft itself. He passes for a strong denier of the whole business of sorcery. We shall find that this is a great mistake. So far from denying the existence of witches, Webster is indignant at the imputation that his theories and those of other like-minded scholars should be interpreted in any such sense. "If I deny that a Witch cannot flye in the air, nor be transformed or transubstantiated into a Cat, a Dog, or an Hare, or that the Witch maketh any visible Covenant with the Devil, or that he sucketh on their bodies, or that the Devil hath carnal Copulation with them; I do not thereby deny either the Being of Witches, nor other properties that they may have, for which they may be so called: no more than if I deny that a dog hath rugibility (which is only proper to a Lion) doth it follow that I deny the being of a Dog, or that he hath latrability?"⁶⁹ This sentence contains, in effect, the sum and substance of Webster's negative propositions on the subject.⁷⁰ Let us see what he holds as affirmatives.

Though rejecting the theory of an external covenant between the devil and a witch, Webster acknowledges "an internal, mental, and spiritual League or Covenant betwixt the Devil and all wicked persons." Further, "this spiritual League in some respects and in some persons

⁶⁷ P. 308. On the astral spirit, see also pp. 312 ff.

⁶⁸ Page 310.

⁶⁹ Pages 10-11.

⁷⁰ See also pp. 267 ff.

may be, and is an explicit League, that is, the persons that enter into it, are or may be conscious of it, and know it to be so."⁷¹ Now there are certain persons, commonly called witches, who are full of "hatred, malice, revenge and envy," of which the devil is the "author and causer,"⁷² and these, by Satan's instigation, "do secretly and by tradition learn strange poysons, philters and receipts whereby they do much hurt and mischief. Which most strange wayes of poysoning, tormenting, and breeding of unwonted things in the stomach and bellies of people, have not been unknown unto many learned men and Philosophers."⁷³ Among these effects of "an art more than Diabolical," which has "been often practiced by most horrible, malevolent, and wicked persons," is the production of the plague. There is no doubt of the fact. There are "undeniable examples." An unguent may be prepared which is of such power that when it is smeared upon the handles of doors, "those that do but lightly touch them are forthwith infected." In 1536 there was a conspiracy of some forty persons in Italy, who caused the death of many in this way.⁷⁴ To such arts Webster ascribes the dreadful outbreak of jail-fever at the Oxford assizes in 1579. This was not, and could not be, the ordinary "prison infection." It was brought about by the contrivances of one Roland Jenks, "a Popish recusant," who was condemned for seditious words against the queen. Jenks, it seems, had procured strange poisons of a local apothecary, and had made a kind of candle out of them. As soon as he was condemned, he lighted his candle, from which there arose such a "damp," or steam, that the pestilence broke out as we have seen.⁷⁵ It is manifest, Webster holds, "that these kind of people that are commonly called Witches, are indeed (as both the Greek and Latin names doe signifie) Poysoners, and in respect of their Hellish designs are Diabolical, but the effects they procure flow from natural

⁷¹ Page 73.

⁷² Page 231.

⁷³ Pages 242-243.

⁷⁴ Page 244.

⁷⁵ Pages 245-246

Causes."⁷⁶ This last proposition is, indeed, perhaps the chief point of Webster's book. Witches exist, and they do horrible things, but they accomplish their ends, not by the actual intervention of the devil and his imps, but by virtue of an acquaintance with little-known laws of nature. Another example, which cannot be quoted in detail, will make Webster's position perfectly clear. A man was afflicted with a dreadful disease. The cause was discovered to be the presence of an oaken pin in the corner of a courtyard. The pin was destroyed and the man drank birchen ale. He made a complete recovery. It is plain, according to Webster, that the pulling up and burning of the oaken pin "was with the help of the Birchen Ale the cure; but it can no wayes be judged necessary that the Devil should fix the Oak pin there, but that the Witch might do it himself. Neither can it be thought to be any power given by the Devil to the Oaken pin, that it had not by nature, for in all probability it will constantly by a natural power produce the same effect; only thus far the Devil had a hand in the action, to draw some wicked person to fix the pin there . . . , thereby to hurt and torture him."⁷⁷

One is tempted to still further quotations from Webster's utterances on this topic, especially because his book has been much oftener mentioned than read. But we must rest content with one passage which sums up the whole matter:—"The opinions that we reject as foolish and impious are those we have often named before, to wit, that those that are vulgarly accounted Witches, make a visible and corporeal contract with the Devil, that he sucks upon their bodies, that he hath carnal copulation with them, that they are transubstantiated into Cats, Dogs, Squirrels, and the like, or that they raise tempests, and fly in the air. Other powers we grant unto them, to operate and effect whatsoever the force of natural imagination joyned with envy, malice and vehement desire of revenge, can perform or perpetrate, or whatsoever hurt may be done by secret poysons and such like wayes that work by meer natural means."⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Page 247.

⁷⁷ Page 260.

⁷⁸ Page 267.

It is true that Webster opposed some of the current witch dogmas of his time. There are passages enough in his elaborate treatise which insist on the prevalence of fraud and melancholia. In his Epistle Dedicatory, which is addressed to five Yorkshire justices of the peace, he lays particular stress on the necessity of distinguishing between impostors and those unfortunate persons who are "under a mere passive delusion" that they are witches, and warns the magistrates not to believe impossible confessions. For all this he deserves honor.⁷⁹ Nor do I intend for a moment to suggest that the queer things (as we regard them now-a-days) which I have cited are in any manner discreditable to Webster. He was not exceptionally credulous, and he belonged to that advanced school of English physicians who, in the second half of the seventeenth century, upheld the general theories of Paracelsus and van Helmont in opposition to the outworn follies of the Galenists or regulars. He was a man of great erudition, of vast and varied experience, of uncommon mental gifts, and of passionate devotion to the truth. I admire him, but I must be pardoned if I am unable to see how he can be regarded as a tower of skeptical strength in the great witchcraft controversy. Even his admissions on the subject of the fallen angels are enough to destroy the efficiency of his denial of current notions about witchcraft. Once grant,

⁷⁹ Note, however, that the upholders of the current beliefs on witchcraft are also many times emphatic enough in similar cautionary remarks. A first-rate example is the following characteristic passage from Dr. Casaubon, whom Webster calls a "witchmonger":—

"And indeed, that the denying of *Witches*, to them that content themselves in the search of truth with a superficial view, is a very plausible cause; it cannot be denied. For if any thing in the world, (as we know all things in the world are) be liable to fraud, and imposture, and innocent mistake, through weakness and simplicity; this subject of *Witches* and *Spirits* is. . . . How ordinary is it to mistake natural melancholy (not to speak of other diseases) for a Devil? And how much, too frequently, is both the disease increased, or made incurable; and the mistake confirmed, by many ignorant Ministers, who take every wild motion, or phansie, for a suggestion of the Devil? Whereas, in such a case, it should be the care of wise friends, to apply themselves to the Physician of the body, and not to entertain the other, (I speak it of natural melancholy) who probably may do more hurt, than good; but as the learned Naturalist doth allow, and advise? Excellent is the advice and counsel in this kind, of the Author of the book *de morbo Sacro* attributed to *Hippocrates*, which I could wish all men were bound to read, before they take upon them to visit sick folks, that are troubled with melancholy diseases" (A Treatise proving *Spirits*, etc., 1672, pp. 29-30: cf. p. 159, note 31, above)

as Webster does, that our atmosphere is peopled by legions upon legions of evil angels, delighting in sin, eager to work mischief, inimical to God and man, furnished with stores of acquired knowledge, and able to devise wicked thoughts and put them into our minds,⁸⁰ and it was idle to deny—in the face of the best philosophic and theological opinion of the ages—that these demonic beings can make actual covenants with witches or furnish them with the means of doing injury to their fellow-creatures.

"A Witch," according to Glanvill's definition, "is one, who can do or seems to do strange things, beyond the known Power of Art and ordinary Nature, by virtue of a Confederacy with Evil Spirits. . . . The strange things are really performed, and are not all *Impostures* and *Delusions*. The Witch occasions, but is not the *Principal* Efficient, she seems to do it, but the *Spirit* performs the wonder, sometimes immediately, as in *Transportations* and *Possessions*, sometimes by applying other Natural Causes, as in raising *Storms*, and inflicting *Diseases*, sometimes using the Witch as an *Instrument*, and either by the Eyes or Touch, conveying Malign Influences: And these things are done by virtue of a *Covenant*, or *Compact* betwixt the Witch and an *Evil Spirit*. A *Spirit*, viz. an *Intelligent Creature* of the Invisible World, whether one of the Evil Angels called *Devils*, or an Inferiour *Dæmon* or *Spirit*, or a wicked *Soul* departed; but one that is able and ready for mischief, and whether altogether Incorporeal or not, appertains not to this Question."⁸¹ Glanvill's book was well known to the Mathers. So was Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*.⁸² Could there be a moment's doubt which of the two would appeal the more powerfully to their logical sense? Why, even we ourselves, if we look at the matter fairly,—taking into consideration Webster's whole case, and not merely such parts of it as accord with our preconceived opinions,—are forced to admit that Glanvill's position is much the stronger.

⁸⁰ Pages 219, 220, 224.

⁸¹ *Saducismus Triumphatus*, Part II, ed. 1682, p. 4. (ed. 1726, pp. 225-226). Glanvill is here replying to Webster, whose book, it will be remembered, appeared in 1677.

⁸² Increase Mather's copy is in the Harvard College Library.

In a well-known passage, in which the intellectual temper of Massachusetts before 1660 is contrasted with that of the next generation,⁸³ our classic New England essayist remarks that after 1660 the Colonists "sank rapidly into provincials, narrow in thought, in culture, in creed." "Such a pedantic portent as Cotton Mather," Lowell continues, "would have been impossible in the first generation; he was the natural growth of the third." To discuss these epigrammatic theses would take us far beyond the limits of our present subject. One thing, however, must be said. Pedantry in the latter half of the seventeenth century was not confined to New England, nor to the ranks of those who were controversially styled the witchmongers. Meric Casaubon and Joseph Glanvill were not pedantic, but John Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*—which in some respects comes very near to being a great book—is a monument of pedantry, and John Webster was not a product of New England.

In Thomas Hobbes, whom we may next consider, we find a philosopher who was altogether incredulous on the subject of witchcraft. "As for witches," he writes, "I think not that their witchcraft is any real power; but yet that they are justly punished, for the false belief that they have that they can do such mischief, joined with their purpose to do it if they can; their trade being nearer to a new religion than to a craft or science."⁸⁴ This dictum may accord with reason, but

⁸³ Lowell, *New England Two Centuries Ago*, Writings, Riverside edition, II, 73.

⁸⁴ *Leviathan*, i, 2 (*English Works*, ed. Molesworth, III, 9). Compare Hobbes's *Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Law of England* (*English Works*, VI, 96):—"L. I know not. Besides these crimes, there is conjuration, witchcraft, sorcery and enchantment; which are capital by the statute I James, c. 12.—P. But I desire not to discourse of that subject. For though without doubt there is some great wickedness signified by those crimes; yet I have ever found myself too dull to conceive the nature of them, or how the devil hath power to do so many things which witches have been accused of." Wier is far more humane, as well as more reasonable. If one holds, he writes, that witches are to be severely punished for their evil intent, let it be remembered that there is a great difference between sane and insane will. "Quod si quis contentiose uoluntatem seuerius puniendam defendat, is primum distinguat inter uoluntatem hominis sani perfectam, quae in actum uere dirigi coeperit: et inter uitiatæ mentis sensum, uel (si uoles) corruptam amentis uoluntatem: cui suo opere, quasi alterius esset, colludit diabolus, nec alius insulæ uolentem subsequitur effectus." *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, vi, 21, ed. 1568, pp. 641-642.

one must admit that it was cold comfort for persons accused of diabolical arts. And so was the more famous remark of Selden: "The Law against Witches does not prove there be any; but it punishes the Malice of those people, that use such means, to take away mens lives. If one should profess that by turning his Hat thrice, and crying Buz; he could take away a man's life (though in truth he could do no such thing) yet this were a just Law made by the State, that whosoever should turn his Hat thrice, and cry Buz; with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death."⁸⁵ Bayle, shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century, agreed with Selden as to the justice of putting "sorciers imaginaires" to death.⁸⁶ Thomas Ady, believing (like Scot, to whom he often refers) that the witches and sorcerers of the Bible were mere cheats, and that the same is true of all who pretend to similar arts in modern times, is ready to admit the justice of the death penalty in cases of fraud. In describing the case of a certain Master of Arts who was "condemned only for using himself to the study and practice of the Jugling craft," he concludes:—"If he had. been a Jugler, or practiser of that Craft to this end, to withstand the Prophets when they wrought true miracles, as *Pharaohs* Juglers withstood *Moses*, or if he were one that practised it to seduce the people after lying delusions, to magnifie himself as a false Prophet, like *Simon Magus* in the *Acts*, or to cause people to ascribe miraculous power to him, or to seek to the Devil as our common Deceivers, called good Witches, do, he was deservedly condemned."⁸⁷

Four dissenters from the current witchcraft dogma we must pass over in silence—John Wagstaffe, Sir Robert Filmer, Robert Calef, and Dr. Francis Hutchinson. Calef came too late to be really significant in our discussion; Filmer's tract is a kind of *jeu d'esprit*, not likely to have

⁸⁵ Table-Talk, 1689, p. 59 (the first edition). Selden died in 1654.

⁸⁶ Soldan, Geschichte der Hexenprozesse, ed. Heppe, II, 243.

⁸⁷ A Candle in the Dark: or, A Treatise concerning the Nature of Witches & Witchcraft, 1656, p. 41.

had any influence except upon lawyers;⁸⁸ and Wagstaffe's book is a quite inconsiderable affair. Yet, in parting, we must not neglect an odd remark concerning two out of the four—as well as one other, John Webster, whose lucubrations we have already criticised—a remark which, occurring as it does in a work of much learning and unusual distinction, illustrates in striking fashion the inaccuracy which we have already had occasion to notice, now and again, in recent writers who have busied themselves with the abstruse and complicated subject of witchcraft. President White, in his *Warfare of Science with Theology*, expresses his admiration for Webster, Wagstaffe, and Hutchinson in the following terms:—"But especially should honour be paid to the younger men in the Church, who wrote at length against the whole system: such men as Wagstaffe and Webster and Hutchinson, who in the humbler ranks of the clergy stood manfully for truth, with the certainty that by so doing they were making their own promotion impossible."⁸⁹ Of the three men whom Dr. White thus commends for renouncing all hope of ecclesiastical preferment, the first, John Webster, was sixty-seven years old when he published his book; he had long been a Non-Conformist, and he describes himself on his title-page as "Practitioner in Physick." The second, John Wagstaffe, was a gentleman of independent means who damaged his health by "continual bibbing of strong and high tasted liquors"⁹⁰ and who was not in orders at all; the third, Dr. Francis Hutchinson, was Chaplain in Ordinary to King George I. when he published his *Essay* and was advanced to a bishopric two years after the first edition of the book appeared."⁹¹

⁸⁸ Sir Robert Filmer's brief tract, *An Advertisement to the Jury-men of England, touching Witches*, was occasioned, according to the Preface, by "the late Execution of Witches at the Summer Assises in Kent." It was first published in 1652, and may be found annexed to the *Free-holders Grand Inquest*, 1679. The case which elicited Sir Robert's little book is reported in *A Prodigious & Tragical History of the Arraignment, Tryall, Confession, and Condemnation of six Witches at Maidstone, in Kent, at the Assises there held in July, Fryday 30, this present year, 1652* (London, 1652, reprinted 1837).

⁸⁹ A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, 1896, I, 362.

⁹⁰ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, III, 1114.

⁹¹ Dr. Hutchinson's admirable work, *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, which still remains one of the most valuable treatises on this subject that we have,

When in 1692 and 1693, we come to *The Enchanted World* (*De Betoverde Weereld*)⁹² of the Dutch preacher and theologian Balthasar Bekker, we arrive at a method of opposing the witch dogma different from anything we have so far examined. Bekker was fully aware of the difficulties of his theme, and he had an uncommonly logical head. His method is perfect. He first sets forth the spiritual beliefs of the Greeks and Romans and their practices in the way of sorcery. Then he shows—with an anticipation of the process so often used by the modern anthropological school—that the same doctrines and practices are found among “the pagans of the present day,”—in Northern Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and in America, as well as among the ancient Jews. The Manichæan heresy, he contends, was a *mélange* of pagan and Jewish doctrines. These doctrines—heathen, Jewish, and Manichæan—early became current among Christians. Hence, Christians in general now hold that all sorts of extraordinary happenings are due to the activity of the devil. Thus Bekker succeeds in explaining the primary conceptions of modern demonology and witchcraft as derived from heathen sources.⁹³

Bekker's next task is to define body and spirit, according to reason and the Bible. Both body and spirit are creatures. God, being perfect and increate, is neither body nor spirit, but superior to both. He is called a spirit in the Bible, simply because there is no better word to express the divine nature, but that nature is different from what is ordinarily meant by the term. God being the governor of the world, we have no ground for believing that there are demigods (*dæmons* in the Greek sense) or vice-gods. Apart from the Scriptures, reason affords us no proof that there are any spirits except men's souls. The Scriptures, however, teach that there are good angels, of whom Michael is the chief, and

was published in 1718. It appeared in a second edition in 1720, in which year he was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor.

⁹² I have used a copy of the French translation, —*Le Monde Enchanté*, Amsterdam, 1694. This was made by Bekker's direction and revised by him. Each of the four volumes has a separate dedication, and each dedication (in the Harvard College copy) is authenticated by Bekker's autograph signature.

⁹³ This concludes Bekker's First Book.

bad angels, whose prince is the devil. Beyond this, we learn practically nothing from the Bible with regard to a hierarchy of angels or of devils. Demoniactal possession was a natural disease: it had nothing to do with evil spirits. Such devils as are mentioned in Scripture are not said to be vassals of Satan; in many cases we are to understand the word "devil" merely as a figure of speech for a wicked man. There is no warrant in Holy Writ for the belief that Satan can appear to mortals under different forms, nor for the powers vulgarly ascribed to him and his supposed demonic household. In particular, there is no scriptural warrant for the opinion that Satan or his imps can injure men bodily or even suggest evil thoughts to them. The devil and the evil angels are damned in hell; they have not the power to move about in this world. The only way in which Satan is responsible for the sins which we commit is through his having brought about the fall of Adam, so that men are now depraved creatures, prone to sin. There is no place in the divine government for particular suggestions to wickedness, made from time to time, since the Fall, either by Satan himself or by any of his train. Diabolical influence upon mankind was confined to the initial temptation in Eden. Since Adam, neither Satan nor any evil spirit has been active in this world in any manner whatever, spiritual or corporeal. God rules, and the devil is not a power to be reckoned with at all. These revolutionary propositions Bekker proves, to his own satisfaction, not only from reason, but from the Word of God.⁹⁴

Here at last we have a rational method. Bekker is not content with half-measures; he lays the axe to the root. There is a devil, to be sure, and there are fallen angels; but neither the one nor the other can have anything to do with the life and actions of mortal men. Practically, then, the devil is non-existent. We may disregard him entirely. If Bekker's propositions are admitted, the stately fabric of demonology and witchcraft crumbles in an instant. And nothing less drastic than such propositions will suffice

⁹⁴ What precedes is, in substance, Bekker's Book II.

to make witchcraft illogical or incredible. Bekker's argument, we see at once, is utterly different from anything that his predecessors had attempted.

It now becomes necessary for Bekker to proceed to discuss those passages in the Bible which appear to justify the common beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. These beliefs are contrary to reason, but, if they rest upon revelation, they must still be accepted, for Bekker regards himself as an orthodox Christian of the Dutch Reformed Church. Accordingly Bekker takes up every scriptural passage which mentions witches, enchanter, diviners, and the like, and interprets them all in such a way that they lend no support to current beliefs in the reality of compacts with the devil, of magic, or of witchcraft. Whatever magicians and witches, so-called, may think of their own performances, there is nothing in Scripture, as interpreted by this bold and expert theologian and unsurpassed dialectician, to warrant us in believing in intercourse with Satan, or in his intervention, with or without the mediation of sorcerers and witches, in human life as it is to-day.⁸⁶

But, Bekker hastens to admit, there remains a huge mass of recent testimony which is regarded by almost everybody as sufficient to establish the existence of sorcery and witchcraft, whether such things are recognized in the Bible or not. To this testimony Bekker devotes the Fourth (and last) Book of his treatise.

He first points out that all such testimony is prejudiced, since it comes from persons who have a fixed and, so to speak, an inherited belief in the truth of the marvels whose very existence is in question. He then examines a great body of material, with splendid sobriety and common sense. This is perhaps the most interesting part of his work to us,—though in fact it is less original than much of what precedes, since all opponents of the witch dogma, beginning with Wier, had attacked the evidence in many particulars, and since even those scholars and theologians who supported the dogma most effectively—like Glanvill—had granted

⁸⁶ This is the substance of Bekker's Third Book.

without hesitation that fraud and delusion played a large part in the accumulation of testimony. Bekker's treatment of the subject, however, is better than anything of the kind that had been written before. Fraud, terror, hysteria, insanity, illusion of the senses,—due to disease or to what we should now call hypnotic or semi-hypnotic conditions,—unknown laws of nature—these are the sources from which he derives his interpretation of the evidence. This part of his work, then, has a singularly modern tone, and gives the author a valid claim to rank as an enlightened psychologist.

It has seemed advisable to give particular attention to Bekker's *Enchanted World* because of its singular merits, as well as on account of the distinguished position which it deservedly holds among the books which oppose the belief in witchcraft. In strictness, however, we are not bound to include this work in our survey of seventeenth-century opinion, since it did not appear in season to exert any influence on New England at the time of the Salem prosecution. The first two Books of Bekker's work were published in 1691; the second two, which deal specifically with witchcraft, in 1693. The trouble in Salem began in February, 1692, and the prosecution collapsed in January, 1693. It is certain that New England scholars knew nothing about the first two Books when they were engaged in witch trials, and the last two were not published until the trials had come to an end. But this matter of dates need not be insisted on. Even if our ancestors had received advance sheets of *The Enchanted World*, their opinions would not, in all probability, have been in the slightest degree affected. Indeed, the reception which Bekker's treatise met with in his own country is a plain indication of the temper of the times in this business of witchcraft. The publication of the first two Books in 1691 was the signal for a storm of denunciation. The Dutch press teemed with replies and attacks. Bekker was instantly called to account by the authorities of the Reformed Church. Complicated ecclesiastical litigation ensued, with the result that the Synod of North Holland issued a decree declaring Bekker

"intolerable as teacher in the Reformed Church" and expelling him from his ministerial office (August 7, 1692).⁹⁶ Soon after, the Church Council of Amsterdam voted to exclude him from the Lord's Supper (August 17),⁹⁷ and he was never admitted to communion again. He died on June 11, 1698.⁹⁸

Another reason for going so fully into Bekker's arguments is that they give us an excellent chance to take up a question which is of cardinal importance in weighing the whole matter of witchcraft. I refer, of course, to the question of Biblical exegesis.

If we wish to treat our forefathers fairly, we are required to criticise the few opponents of the witch dogma in a really impartial way. We ought not to commend such portions of their argument as chance to square with our own ideas, and ignore the rest. We must review their case as a whole, so as to discover how far it was right or reasonable on the basis of their own postulates. We must test the correctness of their premises, as well as the accuracy of their logic.

This process we have gone through with already in several instances. We have seen that all the opponents of witchcraft so far examined struggle to maintain a position that is strategically indefensible, either because they admit too much, or because they ignore certain difficulties, or

⁹⁶ "De Christelijke Synodus . . . heeft, . . . met eenparigheyt van stemmen, den selven Dr. Bekker verklaart intolerabel als Leeraar in de (gereformeerde) Kerke; en vervolgens hem van sijn Predik-dienst geremoveert" (decree in W. P. C. Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker de Bestrijder van het Bijgeloof*, the Hague, 1906, p. 315).

⁹⁷ Knuttel, p. 319.

⁹⁸ Knuttel, p. 357. Strictly speaking, it was not for his denial of modern witchcraft that Bekker was punished, for it is in the last two books of his treatise that he deals particularly with this subject, and these did not appear until after he had been unfrocked. Still, his Second Book, which got him into trouble, contains all the essentials. It denies the power of the devil and wicked spirits to afflict men, and holds that the demoniacs of the New Testament were neither possessed nor obsessed, but merely sufferers from disease. For a full analysis of Bekker's work and an account of the opposition which it roused, see Knuttel, chap. v, pp. 188 ff.; for the ecclesiastical proceedings against Bekker, see chap. vi, pp. 270 ff. The various editions and translations of *De Betoverde Wereld* are enumerated by van der Linde in his *Balthasar Bekker, Bibliographie* (the Hague, 1869), where may also be found a long list of the books and pamphlets which the work called forth. There is a good account of Bekker's argument in Hoidan's *Geschiede der Hexenprozesse, neu bearbeitet von Dr. Heinrich Hepp* (Stuttgart, 1880), II, 233 ff. See also Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, II, 445 ff.

because they are frankly eccentric. It does not help their case to contend that what they admit or what they ignore does not signify from our present scientific point of view. It *did* signify *then*. The only man whose argument covers the ground completely and affords a thorough and consistent theory on which a seventeenth-century Christian was logically justified in rejecting witchcraft and demoniacal possession as facts of everyday experience is Balthasar Bekker.

Now the truth or falsity of Bekker's very radical conclusions hinged—for Bekker himself and for his contemporaries—on the soundness of his Biblical exegesis. If his way of disposing of those passages which mention devils and witches and diviners and familiar spirits is not justifiable—if the Biblical writers did not mean what he thinks they meant—then his whole case goes to pieces. In discussing the witchcraft dogma of the seventeenth century, we must accept the Bible, for the nonce, as the men of the seventeenth century (Bekker included) accepted it—as absolutely true in every detail, as dynamically inspired by the Holy Ghost, as a complete rule of faith and practice. Modern views on this subject have no *locus standi*.

Now, if we only keep these fundamental principles firmly in mind, we shall have no doubt as to the outcome. Beyond question, the Bible affords ample authority for belief in demoniacal possession, in necromancy, in the ability of Satan and his cohorts to cause physical phenomena, and in the power of sorcerers to work miracles.⁹⁹ True, not all the details of the witchcraft dogma rest upon Biblical

⁹⁹ Theologians took infinite pains to distinguish between miracles (*miracula*), which could be wrought by divine power only, and the kind of wonders (*mirra*) which Satan worked. See, for example, William Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, 1608, pp. 12 ff., 18 ff.; Del Rio, *Disquisitiones Magice*, lib. ii, questio 7, ed. 1616, pp. 103 ff. Sir Robert Filmer, in *An Advertisement to the Jurymen of England, Touching Witches* (appended to *The Free-holders Grand Inquest*, 1679; cf. p. 179, note 88, above), makes merry with such fine-spun distinctions. "Both [Perkins and Del Rio]," he says, "seem to agree in this, that he had need be an admirable or profound Philosopher, that can distinguish between a Wonder and a Miracle; it would pose Aristotle himself, to tell us every thing that can be done by the power of Nature, and what things cannot; for there be daily many things found out, and daily more may be, which our Fore-fathers never knew to be possible in Nature" (pp. 322-323). Cf. Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1700, p. 35.

authority, but enough of them do so rest to make the case of those who uphold the traditional opinion substantially unassailable, except upon the purely arbitrary assumption that all these wonders, though formerly actual, have ceased in recent times.¹⁰⁰ Bekker's exegesis is erroneous in countless particulars and presents an altogether mistaken view of Biblical doctrines. As interpreters of the language of Scripture, the orthodox theologians of his time, who pinned their faith to witchcraft, were nearer right than he was. And what is true of Bekker's exegesis, is equally true of that followed by all previous opponents of the witchcraft dogma. My reason for not referring to this point in criticising their books is obvious. Bekker has gone farther, and succeeded better, in explaining away the testimony of Scripture than any of the others. It is more than fair to them to rest this part of the case upon his success or failure. If Bekker falls, all of them certainly fall,—and Bekker falls.¹⁰¹

From our cursory examination of the works put forth by some of the chief opponents of the witch dogma, it must be evident that none of these works can have had a very profound influence on the beliefs of the seventeenth century,—their function was rather, by keeping discussion alive, to prepare for the change of sentiment which took place soon after 1700, in what we are accustomed to call "the age of prose and reason." Such an examination as we have given to these books was necessary to establish the proposition with which we set out,—that our ancestors in 1692 were

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Soldan, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*, ed. Heppe, II, 243:—"Zu derjenigen freieren Kritik der biblischen Schriften selbst sich zu erheben, welche das Vorhandensein gewisser, aus den Begriffen der Zeit geschöpfter dämonologischen Vorstellungen in der Bibel anerkennt, ohne daraus eine bindende Norm für den Glauben herzuleiten, —dieses war freilich erst einem späteren Zeitalter vorbehalten. Bekker kannte, um seine sich ihm aufdringende philosophische Ueberzeugung mit der Bibel zu versöhnen, keinen andern Weg, als den der üblichen Exegese, und daher kommt es, dass diese nicht überall eine ungesungene ist." It is instructive to note the pains which Sir Walter Scott takes, in his *Second Letter on Demonology and Witchcraft*, to harmonize the Bible with his views on these subjects.

¹⁰¹ To avoid all possibility of misapprehension I shall venture to express my own feelings. The two men who appeal to me most in the whole affair of witchcraft are Friedrich Spee, the Jesuit, and Balthasar Bekker, the "intolerable" pastor of Amsterdam. But what I *feel*, and what all of us feel, is not to the purpose. There has been too much feeling in modern discussions of witchcraft already.

in accord with the practically universal belief of their day. It has shown more than this, however,—it has¹⁰¹ demonstrated that their position was logically and scripturally stronger than that of their antagonists, provided we judge the matter (as we are in honor bound to do) on the basis of those doctrines as to supernaturalism and the inspiration of the Bible that were alike admitted by both sides. We may repeat, then, with renewed confidence, the statement already made:—Our forefathers believed in witchcraft, not because they were Puritans, not because they were Colonials, not because they were New Englanders, but because they were men of their own time and not of ours.

Another point requires consideration if we would arrive at a just judgment on the Salem upheaval. It is frequently stated, and still oftener assumed, that the outbreak at Salem was peculiar in its virulence, or, at all events, in its intensity. This is a serious error, due, like other misapprehensions, to a neglect of the history of witchcraft as a whole. The fact is, the Salem excitement was the opposite of peculiar,—it was perfectly typical. The European belief in witchcraft, which our forefathers shared without exaggerating it, was a constant quantity. It was always present, and continuously fraught with direful possibilities. But it did not find expression in a steady and regular succession of witch trials. On the contrary, it manifested itself at irregular intervals in spasmodic outbursts of prosecution. Notable examples occurred at Geneva from 1542 to 1546,¹⁰² at Wiesensteig, Bavaria, in 1562 and 1563,¹⁰³ in the Electorate of Trier from 1587 to 1593,¹⁰⁴ among the Basques of Labourd in 1609,¹⁰⁵ at Mohra in Sweden in 1669 and 1670.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Sigmund Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern*, Stuttgart, 1906, p. 143.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Soldan, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*, revised by Heppe, II, 37; cf. G. L. Burr, *The Fate of Dietrich Flade*, 1891 (reprinted from the *Papers of the American Historical Association*, V).

¹⁰⁴ Jean d'Espaignet and Pierre de Lancre, the special commissioners, are said to have condemned more than 600 in four months (Soldan, ed. Heppe, II, 162; cf. Baissac, *Les Grands Jours de la Sorcellerie*, 1890, p. 401). I have no certain evidence of the accuracy of these figures, for I have seen only one of de Lancre's two books, and I find in it no distinct statement of the number of witches convicted. He makes various remarks, however, which seem to show that 600 is no exaggeration. Thus he

In the district of Ortenau, in Baden, witchcraft prosecutions suddenly broke out, after a considerable interval, in 1627, and there were seventy-three executions in three years.¹⁰⁷ From the annals of witchcraft in Great Britain one may cite the following cases:—1581, at St. Osith's, in Essex,¹⁰⁸ 1590-1597, in Scotland,¹⁰⁹ 1612, at Lancaster,¹¹⁰ and again in 1633;¹¹¹ 1616, in Leicestershire,¹¹² 1645-1647, the Hop-

says that the Parliament of Bordeaux, under whose authority he acted, condemned "an infinity" of sorcerers to death in 1609 (*Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons*, Paris, 1613, p. 100). "On fait estat qu'il y a trente mille ames en ce pays de Labourt, contant ceux qui sont en voyage sur mer, & que parmy tout ce peuple, il y a bien peu de familles qui ne touchent au Sortilege par quelque bout" (p. 38). The commission lasted from July to November (pp. 66, 456, 470); besides those that the two commissioners tried during this period, they left behind them so many witches and wizards that the prisons of Bordeaux were crowded and it became necessary to lodge the defendants in the ruined château du Hâ (pp. 144, 560). Cf. pp. 35 ff., 64, 92, 114, 546. The panic fear that witchcraft excites is described by de Lancre in a striking passage:—"Qu'il n'y ayt qu'une seule sorciere dans vn grand village, dans peu de temps vous voyes tant d'enfans perdus, tant de femmes enceintes perdas leur fruit, tant de haut mal donné à des patures creatures, tant d'animaux perdus, tant de fructs gastés, que le foudre ni autre fleau du ciel ne sont rien en comparaison" (pp. 543-544).

¹⁰⁷ An Account of what Happened in the Kingdom of Sweden, in the Years 1669, 1670 and Upwards, translated from the German by Anthony Horneck, and included in Glanvill's *Seducismus Triumphatus*, ed. 1682 (ed. 1726, pp. 474 ff.). Horneck's version is from a tract entitled, *Translation . . . Der Königl. Herren Commissarien gehaltenes Protocol uber die entdeckte Zauberey in dem Dorff Mohra und umliegenden Orten*, the Hague, 1670. Cf. Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, II, 244 ff.; Soldan, ed. Heppé, II, 175 ff.; Vilhelm Bang, *Hexevæsen og Hexenforfølgelser især i Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1896, pp. 48 ff. This is what Mr. Upham calls Cotton Mather's "favorite Swedish case" (*Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*, *Morristania*, 1899, p. 20). It was, in a manner, "Leonato's Hero, your Hero, every man's Hero" toward the end of the seventeenth century, since it was one of the most recent instances of witchcraft on a large scale. The good angel in white who is one of the features of the Mohra case appears much earlier in England: see Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches*, 1613, Chetham Society reprint, sig. L (a reference which may serve as a note to Mr. Upham's essay, just cited, p. 34).

¹⁰⁸ Franz Volk, *Hexen in der Landvogtei Ortenau und Reichstadt Offenburg*, Lahr, 1882, pp. 24-25, 58 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 543; F. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 2d ed., p. 38; W. W., *A True and Just Records, of the Information [etc.] of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses* (London, 1582). For extracts from W. W.'s book I am indebted to Mr. Wallace Notestein, of Yale University.

¹¹⁰ F. Legge, *The Scottish Review*, XVIII, 261 ff.

¹¹¹ Thomas Potts, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* (London, 1613), reprinted by the Chetham Society, 1845; Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, Chap. xxiii.

¹¹² Whalley's *Lancashire*, ed. by Whitaker, pp. 213 ff.; Chetham Society reprint of Potts, as above, pp. lix ff.; Wright, as above, Chap. xxiii; Heywood and Brome's play, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, 1634; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1634-1635, pp. 77-79, 98, 129-130, 141, 152; *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 10th Report, Appendix, Part IV, p. 433; 12th Report, Appendix, Part II, p. 53, cf. p. 77; *Notes and Queries*, 3d Series, V, 250, 365.

¹¹³ Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, II, 471.*

kins prosecution,¹¹³ 1649-1650, at Newcastle-on-Tyne;¹¹⁴ 1652, at Maidstone, in Kent;¹¹⁵ 1682, at Exeter.¹¹⁶ The sudden outbreak of witch trials in the Bermudas in 1651 is also worthy of attention.¹¹⁷

It is unnecessary for us to consider how much of the evidence offered at witch trials in England was actually true. Some of the defendants were pretty bad characters, and it would be folly to maintain that none of them tried to cause the sickness or death of their enemies by maltreating clay images or by other arts which they supposed would avail. Besides, now and then an injury is testified to which may well have been inflicted without diabolical aid. Thus Ann Foster, who was hanged for witchcraft at Northampton in 1674, confessed that she had set a certain grazier's barns on fire, and there is much reason to believe her, for she was under considerable provocation.¹¹⁸ As to occult or super-normal powers and practices, we may leave their discussion to the psychologists. With regard to this aspect of the Salem troubles, we must accept, as substantially in accordance with the facts, the words of Dr. Poole: "No man of any reputation who lived in that generation, and saw what transpired at Salem Village and its vicinity, doubted that there was some influence then exerted which could not be explained by the known laws of matter or of mind."¹¹⁹ Even Thomas Brattle, in speaking of the confessing witches, many of whom he says he has "again and again seen and heard," cannot avoid the hypothesis of demoniacal action. They are, he feels certain, "deluded, imposed upon, and

¹¹³ See pp. 152 and 203.

¹¹⁴ Whitelocke's Memorials, Dec. 13, 1649, ed. 1732, p. 434; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Haslitt, III, 80; Ralph Gardner, *England's Grievance Discovered, in Relation to the Coal-Trade*, 1655 (reprinted, North Shields, 1849, Chap. 53, pp. 168 ff.).

¹¹⁵ *A Prodigious & Tragical History of the Arraignment [etc.] of Six Witches at Maidstone* . . . Digested by H. F. Gent, 1652 (reprinted in an Account, etc., London, 1837).

¹¹⁶ *A True and Impartial Relation of the Informations against Three Witches*, 1682.

¹¹⁷ Sir J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands*, II, 601 ff.

¹¹⁸ *A Full and True Relation of the Tryal [etc.] of Ann Foster*, London, 1674 (Northampton, reprinted by Taylor & Son, 1878). Cf. W. Ruland, *Steirische Hexenprozesse*, in *Steinhausen's Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, 2. *Ergänzungsheft*, Weimar, 1898, pp. 45 ff.

¹¹⁹ *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXIV, 382.

under the influence of some evil spirit; and therefore unfit to be evidences either against themselves, or any one else."¹²⁰

One common misapprehension to which the historians of witchcraft are liable comes from their failure to perceive that the immediate responsibility for actual prosecution rests frequently, if not in the majority of instances, on the rank and file of the community or neighborhood. This remark is not made in exculpation of prosecutors and judges,—for my purpose in this discussion is not to extenuate anybody's offences or to shift the blame from one man's shoulders to another. What is intended is simply to remind the reader of a patent and well-attested fact which is too often overlooked in the natural tendency of historians to find some notable personage to whom their propositions, commendatory or damaging, may be attached. A prosecution for witchcraft presupposes a general belief among the common people in the reality of the crime. But this is not all. It presupposes likewise the existence of a body of testimony, consisting of the talk of the neighborhood, usually extending back over a considerable stretch of years, with regard to certain persons who have the reputation of being witches, cunning men, and so on. It also presupposes the belief of the neighborhood that various strange occurrences,—such as storms, bad crops, plagues of grasshoppers and caterpillars, loss of pigs or cattle, cases of lunacy or hysteria or chorea or wasting sickness,—are due to the malice of those particular suspects and their unknown confederates. These strange occurrences, be it remembered, are not the fictions of a superstitious or dis-tempered imagination, they are—most of them—things that have really taken place; they are the *res geste* of the prosecution, without which it could never have come about, or, having begun, could never have continued. And further, in very many instances of prosecution for witchcraft, there have been among the accused persons

¹²⁰ *Journal of the S. H. S. 1792*, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, V. 25. Compare on the whole question, the remarks of Professor Wendell in his interesting paper, *Were the Salem Witches Guilty?* *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, XXX, republished in his *Studies*, and *Other Essays concerning America*, New York, 1902, and in his *Common Reader*, pp. 26-27.

who believed themselves to be witches,—or who had, at any rate, pretended to extraordinary powers and—in many instances—had either used their uncanny reputation to scare their enemies or to get money by treating diseases of men and cattle. And finally, the habit of railing and brawling, of uttering idle but malignant threats, and, on the other hand, the habit of applying vile epithets—including that of “witch,”—to one’s neighbors in the heat of anger—customs far more prevalent in former times than now—also resulted in the accumulation of a mass of latent or potential testimony which lay stored up in people’s memories ready to become kinetic whenever the machinery of the law should once begin to move.¹²¹

Nobody will ask for evidence that railing and brawling went on in colonial New England, that our forefathers sometimes called each other bad names, or that slander was a common offence.¹²² That suspicion of witchcraft was rife in various neighborhoods years before the Salem outbreak, is proved, not only by the records of sporadic cases that came before the courts,¹²³ but by some of the evidence in the Salem prosecution itself.

That the initial responsibility for prosecution usually rested with the neighborhood or community might further be shown by many specific pieces of testimony. The terrible prosecution in Trier toward the close of the sixteenth century is a case in point. “Since it was commonly

¹²¹ A long and curious list of cases of defamation may be seen in a volume of *Depositions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the County of Durham*, extending from 1311 to the Reign of Elizabeth, edited by James Raine for the Surtees Society in 1845 (Publications, XXI). Thus, in 1566-67, Margaret Lambert accuses John Lawson of saying “that she was a cherner” (p. 84); about 1569 Margaret Reed is charged with calling Margaret Howbrett “a horse goodmother water wych” (p. 91); in 1572, Thomas Fewler deposed that he “hard Elizabeth Anderson caull . . . Anne Burden ‘crowket handyd wytch.’ He saith the words was spoken audiently there; ther might many have herd them, beinge spoken so neigh the crose and in the towne gait as they were” (p. 247). So in 1691 Alice Bovill complained of a man who had said to her, “Thou bewitched my stot” (North Riding Record Society, Publications, IX, 6). See also Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, I, 283; *Lefroy, Bermudas or Somers Islands*, II, 629 (no. 15).

¹²² See, for example, Mr. Noble’s edition of the *Records of the Court of Assistants*, II, 43, 72, 85, 94, 95, 104, 131, 136,—all between 1633 and 1644.

¹²³ See Drake’s *Annals of Witchcraft in New England*; Noble’s *Records*, as above, I, 11, 31, 33, 159, 188, 228, 229, 233.

believed," writes Linden, an eyewitness, "that the continued failure of the crops for many years was caused by witches and wizards through diabolical malice, the whole country rose up for the annihilation of the witches."¹²⁴ To like purpose are the words of the admirable Jesuit, Friedrich Spee, in the closing chapter of the most powerful and convincing protest against witch trials ever written—that chapter which the author begged every magistrate in Germany to mark and weigh, whether he read the rest of the book or not:—"Incredible are the superstition, the envy, the slanders and backbitings, the whisperings and gossip of the common people in Germany, which are neither punished by magistrates nor reproved by preachers. These are the causes that first rouse suspicion of witchcraft. All the punishments of divine justice with which God has threatened men in the Holy Scriptures are held to come from witches. God and nature no longer do anything,—witches, everything. Hence it is that all demand, with violent outcry, that the magistracy shall proceed against the witches, whom only their own tongues have made so numerous."¹²⁵

As for England, the annals of witchcraft are full of instances which show where the initial responsibility rests in particular prosecutions. Two examples will serve as well as many.

Roger North, the distinguished lawyer, who was at Exeter in 1682, when a famous witch trial occurred,¹²⁶ gives a

¹²⁴ "Quia vulgo creditum, multorum annorum continuatam sterilitatem à strigibus et maleficis diabolicè invidiâ causari; tota patria in extinctionem maleficarum insurrexit" (as quoted from the autograph MS. in the Trier Stadt-Bibliothek by G. L. Burr, *The Fate of Dietrich Flade*, p. 51, *Papers of the American Historical Association*, V).

¹²⁵ "Incredibile vulgi apud Germanos, & maxime (quod pudet dicere) Catholicos superstitio, invidia, calumniæ, detractationes, susurrationses & similia, quæ nec Magistratus punit, nec concionatores arguunt, suspicionem magis primum excitant. Omnes divinæ punitiones, quas in sacris literis Deus minatus est, à Sagis sunt. Nihil jam amplius Deus facit aut natura, sed Sagæ omnia. 2. Unde impetu omnes clamant ut igitur inquirat Magistratus in Sagas, quas non nisi ipsi suis linguis tot fecerunt" (*Cautio Criminalis, seu de Processibus contra Sagas Liber*, 2d ed., 1695, pp. 387-388; cf. *Dubium xv*, pp. 67-68, *Dubium xxxiv*, pp. 231-232). Spee's book came out anonymously in 1631, and, unlike most works on this side of the question, had immediate results. Spee had no doubt of the existence of witchcraft (*Dubium i*, pp. 1 ff., *Dubium iii*, pp. 7-8); his experience, however, had taught him that most of those condemned were innocent.

¹²⁶ The case is reported in *A True and Impartial Relation of the Informations against Three Witches [etc.]*, 1682, which is reprinted in *Howell's State Trials*, VIII, 1017 ff.

vivid account of the popular excitement:—¹²⁷ "The women were very old, decrepit, and impotent, and were brought to the assizes with as much noise and fury of the rabble against them as could be shewed on any occasion. The stories of their acts were in everyone's mouth, and they were not content to belie them in the country, but even in the city where they were to be tried miracles were fathered upon them, as that the judges' coach was fixed upon the castle bridge, and the like. All which the country believed, and accordingly persecuted the wretched old creatures. A less zeal in a city or kingdom hath been the overture of defection and revolution, and if these women had been acquitted, it was thought that the country people would have committed some disorder."¹²⁸

Our second example is a very notable case, which occurred in 1712,—that of Jane Wenham, the last witch condemned to death in England. Jane Wenham had a dispute with a neighboring farmer, who called her a witch. She complained to the local magistrate, Sir Henry Chauncy. He referred the dispute to the parson of the parish, who, after hearing both sides, admonished the wranglers to live at peace and sentenced the farmer to pay Jane a shilling. The old crone was not pleased. Shortly after, one of the clergyman's servants, a young woman, was strangely afflicted. Jane was brought to trial. Every effort seems to have been made by the court to put a stop to the affair, but the local feeling was so strong, and the witnesses and complainants were so many (including the clergymen of two parishes) that nothing could be done. The official

¹²⁷ Autobiography, chap. x, ed. Jessopp, 1887, pp. 131-132. North gives a similar account of the same trial, with some general observations of great interest, in his *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, I, 267-269 (ed. 1826). It is not clear whether North was present at the trial or not. It is important to notice that North wrote his biographies late in life and that his death did not take place until 1736, the year in which the statute against witchcraft was repealed.

¹²⁸ North remarks that Guilford (then Francis North, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) "had really a concern upon him at what happened; which was, that his brother Raymond's passive behavior should let those poor women die" (*Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, I, 267). Raymond was, to be sure, the judge who presided at the trial, but Francis North cannot be allowed to have all the credit which his brother Roger would give him, for he refused to reprieve the convicted witches (see his letter, quoted at p. 179, above).

who drew up the indictment endeavored to make the whole affair ridiculous by refusing to use any other phraseology in describing the alleged crime than "conversing with the devil in the form of a cat." But the well-meant device only intensified the feeling against the witch. Mr. Justice Powell, who presided, did what he could to induce the jury to acquit, but in vain. They brought in a verdict of guilty, and he was obliged to pass sentence of death. He suspended the execution of the sentence, however, and secured the royal pardon,—to the intense indignation of the neighborhood. Here we have a jury of the vicinage, accurately reflecting the local sentiment, and insisting on carrying out its belief in witchcraft to the bitter end, despite all that the judge could do.¹²⁹ It is well to note that the clergymen involved in the prosecution were not New England Puritans, and that the whole affair took place just ten years after the last execution of a witch in Massachusetts. Of itself, this incident might suffice to silence those who ascribe the Salem outbreak to the influence of certain distinguished men, as well as those who maintain that the New Englanders were more superstitious than their fellow-citizens at home, that their Puritanism was somehow to blame for it, and that witchcraft was practically dead in the Mother Country when the Salem outbreak took place.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ The following pamphlets (all in the Harvard College Library) appeared in London in 1712: (1) *A Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, practis'd by Jane Wenham of Walkerne in Hertfordshire*; (2) *The Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft consider'd. Being an Examination of a Book, entitl'd, A Full and Impartial Account [etc.]*; (3) *The Impossibility of Witchcraft . . . In which the Depositions against Jane Wenham . . . are Confuted and Expos'd*; (4) *The Belief of Witchcraft Vindicated . . . in Answer to a late Pamphlet, Intituled, The Impossibility of Witchcraft. By G. R. A. M.*; (5) *A Defense of the Proceedings against Jane Wenham. By Francis Bragge*; (6) *Witchcraft Farther Display'd*; (7) *A Full Confutation of Witchcraft: more particularly of the Depositions against Jane Wenham . . . In a Letter from a Physician in Hertfordshire, to his Friend in London.* The first and fifth of these pamphlets are by Bragge, a Cambridge graduate who gave evidence for the prosecution. See also *Memoirs of Literature*, London, 1722, IV, 357; Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Witchcraft*, II, 319 ff. Jane Wenham lived nearly twenty years after her trial; she died in 1730 (Clutterbuck, *History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, II, 461; W. B. Gerish, *A Hertfordshire Witch*, p. 10).

¹³⁰ I refer to such remarks as the following:—"As the devil lost his empire among us in the last age, he exercised it with greater violence among the Indian Pawwaws, and our New England colonists" (Richard Gough, *British Topography*, 1780,

Yet Thomas Wright—never to be mentioned without honor—speaks of the New England troubles as “exemplifying the horrors and the absurdities of the witchcraft persecutions more than anything that had occurred in the old world,”¹⁸¹ and Dr. G. H. Moore,—in an important article on *The Bibliography of Witchcraft in Massachusetts*—declares that the Salem outbreak “was the *epitome* of witchcraft! whose ghastly records may be challenged to produce any parallel for it in the world’s history!”¹⁸² In further refutation of such reckless statements I need add but a single instance. In 1596 there was an outbreak of some pestilence or other in Aberdeen. The populace ascribed the disease to the machinations of a family long suspected of witchcraft. A special commission was appointed by the Privy Council, “and before April 1597, twenty-three women and one man had been burnt, one woman had died under the torture, one had hanged herself in prison, and four others who were acquitted on the capital charge, were yet branded on the cheek and banished from the sheriffdom.”¹⁸³

There was a very special reason why troubles with the powers of darkness were to be expected in New England,—a reason which does not hold good for Great Britain or, indeed, for any part of Western Europe. I refer, of course, to the presence of a considerable heathen population—the Indians. These were universally supposed to be devil-

254, note 7); “The colonists of [Massachusetts] appear to have carried with them, in an exaggerated form, the superstitious feelings with regard to witchcraft which then [at the time of the settlement] prevailed in the mother country” (Introduction to the reprint of Cotton Mather’s *Wonders of the Invisible World*, in the Library of Old Authors, 1862); “In the dark and dangerous forests of America the animistic instinct, the original source of the superstition, operated so powerfully in Puritan minds that Cotton Mather’s *Wonders of the Invisible World* and the Salem persecution surpassed in credulity and malignity anything the mother country could show” (Ferris Greenslet, *Joseph Glanvill*, New York, 1900, pp. 150-151); “The new world, from the time of its settlement, has been a kind of health resort for the worn-out delusions of the old . . . For years prior to the Salem excitement, European witchcraft had been prostrate on its dying bed, under the watchful and apprehensive eyes of religion and of law; carried over the ocean it arose to its feet, and threatened to depopulate New England” (George M. Beard, *The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement*, New York, 1882, p. 1).

¹⁸¹ *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, II, 284.

¹⁸² *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, V, 267.

¹⁸³ F. Legge, *Witchcraft in Scotland*, in *The Scottish Review*, October, 1891, XVIII, 263.

worshippers—not only by the Colonists but by all the rest of the world—for paganism was held to be nothing but Satanism.¹⁸⁴ Cotton Mather and the Jesuit fathers of Canada were at one on this point.¹⁸⁵ The religious ceremonies of the Indians were, as we know, in large part an invocation of spirits, and their powwows, or medicine men, supposed themselves to be wizards,—were wizards, indeed, so far as sorcery is possible.¹⁸⁶ The Colonial government showed itself singularly moderate, however, in its attitude toward Indian practices of a magical character. Powwowing was, of course, forbidden wherever the jurisdiction of the white men held sway, but it was punishable by fine only, nor was there any idea of inflicting the extreme penalty¹⁸⁷—although the offence undoubtedly came under the Mosaic law, so often quoted on the title-pages of books on witchcraft, “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.”

The existence of all these devil-worshipping neighbors was a constant reminder of the possibility of danger from witchcraft. One is surprised, therefore, to find that there was no real outbreak until so late in the century. It argues an uncommon degree of steadiness and common sense among our forefathers that they held off the explosion so long. Yet even this delay has been made to count against them, as if, by 1692, they ought to have known better,

¹⁸⁴ On modern savages as devil worshippers, see, for example, Henry More, *Divine Dialogues*, 1668, I, 404 ff. (Dialogue iii, sections 15-16).

¹⁸⁵ *Magnalia*, book i, chap. i, §2, ed. 1853, I, 42; book, vi, chap. vi, §3, III, 436; *Jesuit Relations*, ed. Thwaites, I, 286; II, 76; VIII, 124, 126. See also Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, 1637, chap. ix, ed. Adams, (Prince Society), p. 150, with the references in Mr. Adams's note. Cf. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, chap. vi, ed. 1795, I, 419 ff.; *Diary of Ezra Stiles*, June 13, 1773, ed. Dexter, I, 385-386.

¹⁸⁶ Mayhew's letter of Oct. 22, 1652, in *Eliot and Mayhew's Tears of Repentance*, 1653 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 3d Series, IV, 203-206); Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 154). See the references in Mr. Adams's note to Morton's *New English Canaan*, Prince Society edition, p. 152, and compare the following places in the *Eliot Tracts* (as reprinted in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 3d Series, IV), —pp. 17, 19-20, 39, 50-51, 55-57, 77, 82, 113-116, 133-134, 156, 186-187. See, for the impression that Indian ceremonies made on a devout man in 1745, David Brainerd's *Journal*, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, Philadelphia, [1746,] pp. 49-57:—"I sat," writes Brainerd, "at a small Distance, not more than Thirty Feet from them, (tho' undiscover'd) with my Bible in my Hand, resolving if possible to spoil their Sport, and prevent their receiving any Answers from the infernal world" (p. 50).

¹⁸⁷ Gookin, *Historical Collections* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 154); *Mass. Records*, ed. Shurtleff, II, 177; III, 98.

even if they might have been excusable some years before. In point of fact, the New Englanders, as we have seen, made an end of trying witches nearly ten years earlier than their English fellow-citizens. But we shall come back to this question of dates presently.

Much has been written of the stupendous and criminal foolishness of our ancestors in admitting "spectral evidence" at the Salem trials. Nothing, of course, can be said in defence of such evidence in itself; but a great deal might be said in defence of our ancestors on this score. The fact is,—and it should never be lost sight of,—there was nothing strange in their admitting such evidence. It was a matter of course that they should admit it. To do so indeed, was one of the best established of all legal principles. Spectral evidence was admitted, for example, in England, either in examinations or in actual trials, in 1593,¹³⁸ 1612,¹³⁹ 1616,¹⁴⁰ 1621,¹⁴¹ 1633,¹⁴² 1645,¹⁴³ 1650,¹⁴⁴ 1653,¹⁴⁵ 1654,¹⁴⁶ 1658,¹⁴⁷ 1660,¹⁴⁸ 1661,¹⁴⁹ 1663,¹⁵⁰ 1664,¹⁵¹ 1665,¹⁵² 1667,¹⁵³ 1670,¹⁵⁴

¹³⁸ The Most Strange and Admirable Discoverie of the Three Witches of Warboys, 1593, sig. B2 r^o. P v^o.

¹³⁹ Thomas Potts, The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches, 1613 (Chetham Society reprint, sig. 8); The Arraignment and Triall of Iennet Preston, of Gisborne in Craven, in the Countie of York, London, 1612 (in same reprint, sig. Y 2).

¹⁴⁰ Mary Smith's case, Alexander Roberts, A Treatise of Witchcraft, 1616, pp. 52, 56, 57; the Husband's Bosworth case, Letter of Alderman Robert Heyrick, of Leicester, July 18, 1616, printed in Nichols, History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, II, 471*.

¹⁴¹ Edward Fairfax, Dæmonologia, 1621 (first edited by W. Grainge, Harrogate, 1882).

¹⁴² Chetham Society Publications, V, lxiv.

¹⁴³ A True and Exact Relation of the Severall Informations, [etc.] of the late Witches, London, 1645, p. 20; T. B. Howell, State Trials, IV, 846.

¹⁴⁴ Depositions from the Castle of York, [edited by James Raine,] Surtees Society, 1861 (Publications, XL), pp. 28-30.

¹⁴⁵ The same, p. 58.

¹⁴⁶ The same, pp. 64-65, 67.

¹⁴⁷ Glanvill, Saducismus Triumphatus, ed. 1682, Relations, pp. 96, 98, 100 (ed. 1726, pp. 286, 288, 289).

¹⁴⁸ York Depositions, p. 82.

¹⁴⁹ The same, pp. 88-89, 92.

¹⁵⁰ The same, pp. 112-114; Glanvill, ed. 1682, pp. 160-161 (ed. 1726, pp. 328-329).

¹⁵¹ A Tryal of Witches . . . at Bury St. Edmonds . . . 1664, London, 1682, pp. 18, 20, 23, 26, 29, 34, 38 (Sir Matthew Hale's case); York Depositions, pp. 124-125.

¹⁵² Glanvill, ed. 1682, pp. 103-104, 109 (ed. 1726, p. 291).

¹⁵³ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1667-1668, p. 4; York Depositions, p. 154.

¹⁵⁴ York Depositions, p. 176.

1672,¹⁵⁵ 1673,¹⁵⁶ 1680,¹⁵⁷ 1683.¹⁵⁸ Even Chief Justice Holt, whose honorable record in procuring the acquittal of every witch he tried is well-known,¹⁵⁹ did not exclude spectral evidence: it was offered and admitted in at least two of his cases—in 1695 and 1696¹⁶⁰—both later than the last witch trial in Massachusetts. In the 1697 edition of that very popular manual, Michael Dalton's *Country Justice*, spectral evidence ("Their Apparition to the Sick Party in his Fits") is expressly mentioned as one of the proofs of witchcraft.¹⁶¹ What may fairly be called spectral evidence was admitted by Mr. Justice Powell, anxious as he was to have the defendant acquitted, in the trial of Jane Wenham in 1712.¹⁶² The question, then, was not whether such evidence might be heard, but what weight was to be attached to it. Thus, in Sir Matthew Hale's case, Mr. Serjeant Keeling was "much unsatisfied" with such testimony, affirming that, if it were allowed to

¹⁵⁵ Ann Tilling's case, *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1832, Part I, CII, 489 ff.; Inderwick, *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 171-172, 191.

¹⁵⁶ York Depositions, pp. 192, 202-203.

¹⁵⁷ The same, p. 247.

¹⁵⁸ Margaret Stothard's case, *The Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*, [II] 1888, p. 395.

¹⁵⁹ See page 199.

¹⁶⁰ F. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 1718, pp. 44-45 (ed. 1720, pp. 61-62). There is a very interesting account of the second of these trials (that of Elizabeth Horner or Turner) in a letter to the Bishop of Exeter from Archdeacon (?) Blackburne, who attended at the bishop's request. This letter, dated Sept. 14, 1696, has been printed by Mr. T. Quiller-Couch in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, XI, 498-499, and again in *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, ed. Haslitt, III, 103-104. The spectral evidence comes out clearly. Of Holt, Blackburne remarks: "My Lord Chief Justice by his questions and manner of summing up the Evidence seem'd to me to believe nothing of witchery at all."

¹⁶¹ Chap. 160, sec. 5, p. 384. "The court justified themselves from books of law, and the authorities of Keble, Dalton and other lawyers, then of the first character, who lay down rules of conviction as absurd and dangerous, as any which were practiced in New England." Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, ed. 1795, II, 27.

¹⁶² James! Burville testified "That hearing the Scratchings and Noises of Cats, he went out, and saw several of them; that one of them had a Face like *Jane Wenham*; that he was present several Times when *Anne Thorn* said she saw Cats about her Bed; and more he would have attested, but this was thought sufficient by the Court" ([F. Bragge.] *A Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, practis'd by Jane Wenham*, London, 1712, p. 29). After the conviction of the witch, Ann was still afflicted: "*Ann Thorn* continues to be frequently troubl'd with the Apparition either of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, or that of a Cat, which speaks to her, and tempts her to destroy her self with a Knife that it brings along with it" ([Bragge.] *Witchcraft Farther Display'd*, 1712, Introduction). In 1711 spectral evidence was admitted at the trial of eight witches at Carrickfergus, in Ireland (*A Narrative of some Strange Events that took place in Island Magee, and Neighbourhood, in 1711, by an Eye Witness, Belfast, 1822, Appendix, pp. 49-50*).

pass for proof, "no person whatsoever can be in safety."¹⁶³ He did not aver that it should not have been admitted, but only protested against regarding it as decisive, and in the end he seems to have become convinced of the guilt of the defendants.¹⁶⁴ It is, therefore, nothing against our ancestors that they heard such evidence, for they were simply following the invariable practice of the English courts. On the other hand, it is much to their credit that they soon began to suspect it, and that, having taken advice, they decided, in 1693, to allow it no further weight. We may emphasize the folly of spectral evidence as much as we like.¹⁶⁵ Only let us remember that in so doing we are attacking, not New England in 1692, but Old England from 1593 to 1712. When, on the other hand, we distribute compliments to those who refused to allow such evidence to constitute full proof, let us not forget that with the name of Chief Justice Holt we must associate those of certain Massachusetts worthies whom I need not specify. It is not permissible to blame our ancestors for an error of judgment that they shared with everybody, and then to refuse them commendation for a virtue which they shared with a very few wise heads in England. That would be to proceed on the principle of "heads I win, tails you lose,"—a method much followed by Matthew Hopkins and his kind, but of doubtful propriety in a candid investigation of the past. We shall never keep our minds clear on the question of witchcraft in general, and of the Salem witchcraft in particular, until we stop attacking and defending individual persons.

Sir John Holt, Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1682 to 1710, has a highly honorable name in the annals of English witchcraft. A dozen or twenty cases came before him, and in every instance the result was an acquittal.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ *A Tryal of Witches*, as above, p. 40.

¹⁶⁴ "The Judge and all the Court were fully satisfied with the Verdict" (*A Tryal*, etc., p. 58).

¹⁶⁵ For a learned discussion of spectral evidence see J. B. Thayer, *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1890, LXV, 471 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Dr. Hutchinson, who acknowledges his indebtedness to Holt, mentions six witches as tried by the Chief Justice from 1691 to 1696, and adds, "Several others in other Places, about Eleven in all, have been tried for Witches before my

Chief Justice Holt deserves all the credit he has received; but it must be carefully noted that his example cannot be cited to the shame and confusion of our ancestors in Massachusetts, for most of his cases,—all but one, so far as I can ascertain,—occurred after the release of the New England prisoners and the abandonment of the prosecution here. As to that single case of acquittal, we must not forget that there were also acquittals in New England,—in 1674 and 1676, for example.¹⁶⁷ As to acquittals in England *after* 1693, let it be remembered that there were *no trials at all for witchcraft* in New England subsequent to that year. If Chief Justice Holt is to be commended for procuring the acquittal of a dozen witches between 1693 and 1702, what is to be ascribed to our forefathers for bringing no cases to trial during that period?

The most remarkable things about the New England prosecution were the rapid return of the community to its habitually sensible frame of mind and the frank public confession of error made by many of those who had been implicated. These two features, and especially the latter, are without a parallel in the history of witchcraft. It seems to be assumed by most writers that recantation and an appeal to heaven for pardon were the least that could have been expected of judge and jury. In fact, as I have just ventured to suggest, no action like Samuel Sewall's on the part of a judge and no document like that issued by the repentant Massachusetts jurymen have yet been discovered in the witch records of the world.¹⁶⁸

Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, and have all been acquitted. The last of them was *Sarah Morduck*, accused by *Richard Hathaway*, and tried at *Guilford Assize, Anno 1701* " (Historical Essay, 2d ed., pp. 58-63). It is not clear whether the "eleven in all" includes the seven previously mentioned. On the *Morduck-Hathaway* case, cf. *Howell, State Trials*, XIV, 639 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Drake, Annals of Witchcraft in New England*, pp. 136, 138.

¹⁶⁸ Compare Mr. Goodell's remarks on the reversal of attainder, in his *Reasons for Concluding that the Act of 1711 became a Law, 1884*. I have not considered here the bearing of this reversal, or of the attempt to pay damages to the survivors or their heirs, because these things came somewhat later. It must be noted, however, that all such measures of reparation, whatever may be thought of their sufficiency, were unexampled in the history of witch trials the world over, and that they came before the last condemnation for witchcraft in England (1712). See the references appended by Mr. Goodell to the Act of 1703 in *The Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, VI, 49-50.

But it is not for the sake of lauding their penitential exercises that I lay stress upon the unexampled character of our forefathers' action. There is another aspect from which the outcome of the Salem trials ought to be regarded. They fell at a critical moment, when witchcraft was, for whatever reason, soon to become a crime unknown to the English courts. They attracted attention instantly in the Mother Country.¹⁶⁹ Can there be any question that the sensational recovery of the Province from its attack of prosecuting zeal, accompanied as that recovery was by retraction and by utterances of deep contrition, had a profound effect in England? The mere dropping of the prosecution would not have had this effect. In 1597, James I., alarmed at the extent to which witch trials were going in Scotland, revoked all the existing special commissions that were engaged in holding trials for this offence.¹⁷⁰ But the evil was soon worse than ever. What was efficacious in the New England instance was the unheard-of action of judge and jury in recanting. This made the Salem troubles the best argument conceivable in the hands of those reformers who, soon after 1700, began to make actual headway in their opposition to the witch dogma.

I am not reasoning *a priori*. By common consent one of the most effective arraignments of the superstition that we are discussing is the Historical Essay on Witchcraft of Dr. Francis Hutchinson, which appeared in 1718.¹⁷¹ Now Hutchinson, who gives much space to the New England trials, refers to Sewall's action, and prints the recantation of the jurors in full. Nor does he leave in us doubt as to the purpose for which he adduces these testimonies. "And those Towns," he writes, "having regained their Quiet; and this Case being of that Nature, that Facts and Experience are of more weight than meer rational Arguments; it will be worth our while to observe some Passages that happened after this Storm, when they had Time to look back on what had passed."¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ See p. 162, above.

¹⁷⁰ Legge, as above, p. 264.

¹⁷¹ 2d ed., 1720.

¹⁷² P. 83; 2d ed., p. 108.

Whatever may be thought of these considerations, one fact cannot be assailed. In prosecuting witches, our forefathers acted like other men in the seventeenth century. In repenting and making public confession, they acted like themselves. Their fault was the fault of their time; their merit is their own.

We must not leave this subject without looking into the question of numbers and dates. The history of the Salem Witchcraft is, to all intents and purposes, the sum total of witchcraft history in the whole of Massachusetts for a century. From the settlement of the country, of course, our fathers believed in witchcraft, and cases came before the courts from time to time, but, outside of the Salem outbreak, not more than half-a-dozen executions can be shown to have occurred. It is not strange that there should have been witch trials. It is inconceivable that the Colony should have passed through its first century without some special outbreak of prosecution—inconceivable, that is to say, to one who knows what went on in England and the rest of Europe during that time. The wonderful thing is, not that an outbreak of prosecution occurred, but that it did not come sooner and last longer.

From the first pranks of the afflicted children in Mr. Parris's house (in February, 1692) to the collapse of the prosecution in January, 1693, was less than a year. During the interval twenty persons had suffered death, and two are known to have died in jail.¹⁷³ If to these we add the six sporadic cases that occurred in Massachusetts before 1692, there is a total of twenty-eight; but this is the whole reckoning, not merely for a year or two but for a complete century. The concentration of the trouble in Massachusetts within the limits of a single year has given a wrong turn to the thoughts of many writers. This concentration makes the case more conspicuous, but it does not make

¹⁷³ See W. F. Poole, in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, II, 133. Dr. Poole finds twelve executions in New England before 1692. This makes the total for all New England, from 1620 to the present day, 34 (including two who died in jail). Cf. O. W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, Boston, 1887, II, 351; S. G. Drake, *Annals of Witchcraft*, pp. 191 ff. In this part of my paper I have made a few quotations from a book of my own, *The Old Farmer and his Almanack* (Boston, 1904).

it worse. On the contrary, it makes it better. It is astonishing that there should have been only half-a-dozen executions for witchcraft in Massachusetts before 1692, and equally astonishing that the delusion, when it became acute, should have raged for but a year, and that but twenty-two persons should have lost their lives. The facts are distinctly creditable to our ancestors,—to their moderation and to the rapidity with which their good sense could reassert itself after a brief eclipse.¹⁷⁴

Let us compare figures a little. For Massachusetts the account is simple—twenty-eight victims in a century. No one has ever made an accurate count of the executions in England during the seventeenth century, but they must have mounted into the hundreds.¹⁷⁵ Matthew Hopkins, the Witch-finder General, brought at least two hundred to the gallows from 1645 to 1647.¹⁷⁶ In Scotland

¹⁷⁴ "They were the first of all people," writes Mr. Goodell, "to escape the thralldom" (Reasons for Concluding that the Act of 1711 became a Law, 1884, p. 21).

¹⁷⁵ See Francis Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 2d edition, 1720, pp. 45 ff.

¹⁷⁶ John Stearne, Hopkins's associate, speaks of what he has himself "learned and observed since the 25. of March 1645 as being in part an agent in finding out or discovering some of those since that time, being about two hundred in number, in Essex, Suffolke, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge, besides other places, justly and deservedly executed upon their legall tryalls" (*A Confirmation and Discovery of Witch-craft*, London, 1648, To the Reader). Stearne wrote his book after the death of Hopkins, which took place in 1647. In the life of Hopkins in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the Witch-Finder is said to have begun operations in 1644. This is a manifest error. Hopkins himself (*Discovery of Witches*, 1647, p. 2, see below) says that his experiences began at Manningtree "in March 1644," but Stearne's statement makes it clear that this is Old Style, for Stearne was also concerned in the Manningtree business, and the year is completely established by the report of the proceedings,—*A True and Exact Relation of the several Informations [etc.] of the late Witches*, London, 1645 (cf. T. B. Howell's *State Trials*, IV, 817 ff.). The traditional statement that Hopkins was hanged as a wizard (cf. *Hudibras*, Part ii, canto 3, ll. 139 ff.) is disproved by the following passage in Stearne: "I am certain (notwithstanding whatsoever hath been said of him) he died peaceably at Manningtree, after a long sickness of a Consumption, as many of his generation had done before him, without any trouble of conscience for what he had done, as was falsely reported of him" (p. 61). For the record of his burial, Aug. 12, 1647, see *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, X, 285. The notion that Hopkins was "swum" and, since he floated, was subsequently hanged, most likely originated in a document criticising his performances which was brought before the Norfolk judges in 1646 or (more probably) in 1647. Hopkins printed a reply to this document shortly before his death,—*The Discovery of Witches: in Answer to severall Queries, lately delivered to the Judges of Assise for the County of Norfolk*. And now published by Matthew Hopkins, Witch-finder (London, 1647). The first "query," as printed by Hopkins, was this:—"That he must needs be the greatest Witch, Sorcerer, and Wizzard himselfe, else hee could not doe it." Cf. Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, II, 145 ff.,

the number of victims was much larger. The most conservatively moderate estimate makes out a total of at least 2,000 between the years 1580 and 1680, and the compiler declares that future discoveries in the way of records may force us to increase this figure very much.¹⁷⁷ On the Continent many thousands suffered death in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mass-hunt reckons the victims from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century at millions.¹⁷⁸ and half a million is thought to be a moderate estimate. In Alsace, a hundred and thirty-four witches and wizards were burned in 1582 on one occasion, the execution taking place on the 15th, 19th, 24th, and 25th of October.¹⁷⁹ Nicholas Remy Remigius) of Lorraine gathered the materials for his work on the *Worship of Demons*,¹⁸⁰ published in 1595, from the trials of more than 800 persons whom he had sentenced to death in the fifteen years preceding. In 1609, de Lancre and his associate are said to have condemned 700 in the Basque country in four months.¹⁸¹ The efforts of the Bishop of Bamberg from 1622 to 1633 resulted in six hundred executions; the Bishop of Würzburg, in about the same period, put nine hundred persons to death.¹⁸² These figures, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely,¹⁸³ help us to look at the Salem Witchcraft in its true proportions,—

Leves of Twelve Bad Men, edited by Thomas Seccombe, London, 1894, p. 64; Ady, *A Candle in the Dark*, 1656, pp. 101-102; James Howell, as above (p. 153, note 7); Gough, *British Topography*, 1790, II, 284.

¹⁷⁷ Leggo, *Scottish Review*, XVIII, 273-274. Ady (*A Candle in the Dark*, 1656, p. 106), says: "A little before the Conquest of Scotland (as is reported upon good intelligence) the Presbytery of Scotland did, by their own pretended authority, take upon them to Excommunicate, Convent, Censure, and Condemn people to cruel death for Witches and (as is credibly reported) they caused four thousand to be executed by Fire and Halter, and had as many in prison to be tried by them, when God sent his conquering Sword to suppress them." The "conquest" to which Ady refers is Cromwell's, in 1654. It is well known that from 1640 to Cromwell's invasion, witch prosecution ran riot in Scotland, but that during his supremacy there were very few executions in that country (see Leggo, pp. 266-267). Cf. p. 153, note 6, above.

¹⁷⁸ *Die praktischen Folgen des Aberglaubens*, p. 34.

¹⁷⁹ Haldan, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*, ed. Heppe, I, 402.

¹⁸⁰ *Demumulatreia*, Lugduni, 1595.

¹⁸¹ See p. 187, above.

¹⁸² Haldan, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*, ed. Heppe, II, 38 ff.

¹⁸³ See the extraordinary enumeration in Roekoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, II, 293 ff.; cf. S. Riesler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern*, pp. 141 ff., 293 ff.

as a very small incident in the history of a terrible superstition.

These figures may perhaps be attacked as involving a fallacious comparison, inasmuch as we have not attempted to make the relative population of New England and the several districts referred to a factor in the equation. Such an objection, if anybody should see fit to make it, is easily answered by other figures. The total number of victims in Massachusetts from the first settlement to the end of the seventeenth century was, as we have seen, twenty-eight, —or thirty-four for the whole of New England. Compare the following figures, taken from the annals of Great Britain and Scotland alone. In 1612, ten witches were executed belonging to a single district of Lancashire.¹⁸⁴ In 1645 twenty-nine witches were condemned at once in a single Hundred in Essex,¹⁸⁵ eighteen were hanged at once at Bury in Suffolk¹⁸⁶ "and a hundred and twenty more were to have been tried, but a sudden movement of the king's troops in that direction obliged the judges to adjourn the session."¹⁸⁷ Under date of July 26, 1645, Whitelocke records that "20 Witches in Norfolk were executed,"¹⁸⁸ and again, under April 15, 1650, that "at a little Village within two Miles [of Berwick] two Men and three Women were burnt for Witches, and nine more were to be burnt, the Village consisting of but fourteen Families, and there were as many witches" and further that "twenty more were to be burnt within six Miles of that place."¹⁸⁹ If we pass over to the Continent, the numbers are appalling. Whether, then, we take the computation in gross or in detail, New England emerges from the test with credit.

The last execution for witchcraft in Massachusetts took place in 1692, as we have seen; indeed, twenty of the total of twenty-six cases fell within the limits of that one year. There were no witch trials in New England in the

¹⁸⁴ Potts, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches*, 1613 (Chetham Society reprint).

¹⁸⁵ Matthew Hopkins, *Discovery of Witches*, 1647, p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ John Stearne, *A Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1648, p. 14.

¹⁸⁷ Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, Chap. xxv.

¹⁸⁸ *Memorials*, 1732, p. 163.

¹⁸⁹ Page 450.

eighteenth century. The annals of Europe are not so clear. Six witches were burned in Renfrewshire in 1697.¹⁹⁰ In England, Elinor Shaw and Mary Phillips, "two notorious witches," were put to death at Northampton in 1705 (or 1706).¹⁹¹ In 1712 Jane Wenham was condemned to death for witchcraft, but she was pardoned.¹⁹² Two clergymen of the Church of England, as well as a Bachelor of Arts of Cambridge,¹⁹³ gave evidence against her. Just before the arrest of Jane Wenham, Addison in the *Spectator* for July 11, 1711, had expressed the creed of a well-bred and sensible man of the world: "I believe in general that there is, and has been such a thing as Witchcraft; but at the same time can give no Credit to any particular Instance of it." Blackstone, it will be remembered, subscribed to the same doctrine, making particular reference to Addison.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ A Relation of the Diabolical Practices of above Twenty Wizards and Witches, 1697; Sadducismus Debellatus, 1698; A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire, 1877. A seventh committed suicide in prison.

¹⁹¹ An Account of the Tryals, Examination and Condemnation, of Elinor Shaw, and Mary Phillips [etc.], London [1705]; The Northamptonshire Witches. Being a true and faithful Account of the Births [etc.] of Elinor Shaw, and Mary Phillips, (The two notorious Witches) That were executed at Northampton on Saturday, March the 17th, 1705 . . . Communicated in a Letter last Post, from Mr. Ralph Davis, of Northampton . . . London, 1705. The first tract is dated March 8, 1705; the second, March 18th, 1705. Both are signed "Ralph Davis." I have used the reprints by Taylor & Son, Northampton, 1866. On this case, see [F. Marshall,] A Brief History of Witchcraft, with Especial Reference to Northamptonshire, Northampton, 1866, pp. 13-15, 16; Notes and Queries, 7th Series, IX, 117; Northamptonshire Notes and Queries II, 19; Eugene Teesdale, in Bygone Northamptonshire, edited by William Andrews, 1891, pp. 114-115; Gough, British Topography, 1780, II, 46.

¹⁹² See p. 193, above. This was the last conviction for witchcraft, and probably the last trial, in England. Mrs. Mary Hickes and her daughter are said by Gough (British Topography, 1780, I, 439, II, 254, note) to have been executed for witchcraft on July 28, 1716, at Huntingdon. Gough cites a contemporary pamphlet as authority. The genuineness of this case is doubted (see Notes and Queries, 1st Series, V, 514; 2d Series, V, 503-504), but Mr. F. A. Inderwick argues for its acceptance (Side-Lights on the Stuarts, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 177-180), and it has certainly never been disproved. The alleged executions at Northampton in 1712 are certainly based on a slip of the pen in Gough, British Topography, 1780, II, 52; the cases actually occurred in 1612, and an account of them may be found in a tract (The Witches of Northamptonshire) published in that year, and reprinted by Taylor & Son, Northampton, 1867. See also Thomas Sternberg, The Dialect and Folk-Lore of Northamptonshire, London, 1851, p. 152; F. Marshall, A Brief History of Witchcraft, Northampton, 1866, p. 16.

¹⁹³ That is, Francis Bragge, who was also a clergyman, being Curate of Biggleswade according to Mr. W. B. Gerish (A Hertfordshire Witch, p. 8)

¹⁹⁴ Commentaries, book iv, chap. 4, sec. 6 (4th ed., 1770, IV, 60-61); cf. Dr. Samuel A. Green, Groton in the Witchcraft Times, 1883, p. 29. In 1715 and 1716 there appeared, in London, A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft, in

Prompted, one may conjecture, by the stir which the Wenham trial made, the Rev. J. Boys, of Coggeshall Magna, in Essex, transcribed, in this same year, from his memoranda, *A Brief Account of the Indisposition of the Widow Coman*. This case had occurred in his own parish in 1699, and he had given it careful investigation. Both in 1699, when he jotted down the facts, and in 1712, Mr. Boys was clearly of the opinion that his unfortunate parishioner was a witch. His narrative, which remained in manuscript until 1901,¹⁹⁶ may be profitably compared with Cotton Mather's account of his visit to Margaret Rule in 1693.¹⁹⁸ Such a comparison will not work to the disadvantage of the New England divine. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the mob "swam" the widow Coman several times, and that "soon after, whether by the cold she got in the water or by some other means, she fell very ill, and dyed." Let it not be forgotten that this was six years after the end of the witchcraft prosecutions in Massachusetts. In 1705 a supposed witch was murdered by a mob at Pittenween in Scotland.¹⁹⁷ In 1730, another alleged witch succumbed to the water ordeal in Somersetshire.¹⁹⁸ The English and Scottish statutes against witchcraft were repealed in 1736,¹⁹⁹ but in that same year Joseph

two volumes, which asserted the truth, and gave the particulars, of a long line of such phenomena, from the case of the Witches of Warboys (in 1592) to the Salem Witchcraft itself. The book was the occasion of Dr. Francis Hutchinson's Historical Essay, published in 1718, and in a second edition in 1720. Richard Boulton, the author of the *Compleat History*, returned to the charge in 1722, in *The Possibility and Reality of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft, Demonstrated. Or, a Vindication of a Compleat History of Magick, etc.* The *Compleat History* came out anonymously, but Boulton, who describes himself as "sometime of Brasen-Nose College in Oxford," acknowledges the authorship in his reply to Hutchinson.

¹⁹⁶ *The Case of Witchcraft at Coggeshall, Essex, in the year, 1699, being the Narrative of the Rev. J. Boys, Minister of that Parish.* Printed from his Manuscript in the possession of the Publisher. London, A. Russell Smith, 1901 (50 copies only).

¹⁹⁷ In Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1700, pp. 3 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *An Answer of a Letter from a Gentleman in Fife, 1705; cf. also A Collection of Rare and Curious Tracts on Witchcraft and the Second Sight*, Edinburgh, 1820, pp. 79 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Daily Journal*, Jan. 15, 1731, as quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1731, I, 29.

²⁰⁰ Daines Barrington points with pride to this early abolition of penalties:—"It is greatly to the honour of this country, to have repealed all the statutes against this supposed crime so long ago as the year 1736, when laws of the same sort continue in full force against these miserable and aged objects of compassion, in every other part of Europe" (*Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, 3d ed., 1769, p. 367, on 20 Henr. VI.).

Juxson, vicar, preached at Twyford, in Leicestershire, a Sermon upon Witchcraft, occasioned by a late Illegal Attempt to discover Witches by Swimming,²⁰⁰ and in 1751 Ruth Osborne, a reputed witch, was murdered by a mob in Hertfordshire.²⁰¹ The last execution for witchcraft in Germany took place in 1775. In Spain the last witch was burned in 1781. In Switzerland Anna Göldi was beheaded in 1782 for bewitching the child of her master, a physician. In Poland two women were burned as late as 1793.²⁰²

That the belief in witchcraft is still pervasive among the peasantry of Europe, and to a considerable extent among the foreign-born population in this country, is a matter of common knowledge.²⁰³ Besides, spiritualism and kindred delusions have taken over, under changed names, many of the phenomena, real and pretended, which would have been explained as due to witchcraft in days gone by.²⁰⁴

Why did the Salem outbreak occur? Of course there were many causes—some of which have already suggested themselves in the course of our discussion. But one fact should be borne in mind as of particular importance. The

²⁰⁰ Gough, *British Topography*, 1780, I, 517.

²⁰¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1751, XXI, 186, 198; Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, II, 326 ff.; Gough, as above, I, 431.

²⁰² Soldan, ed. Heppe, II, 314, 322, 327.

²⁰³ See, for example, A. Löwenstimm, *Aberglaube und Strafrecht*, Berlin, 1897; W. Mannhardt, *Die praktischen Folgen des Aberglaubens*, 1878 (*Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen*, ed. by F. von Holtendorff, VII, nos. 97, 98); Wuttke, *Der Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, 2d ed., 1869; the chapter on Hexerei und Hexenverfolgung im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, in Soldan, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*, ed. by Heppe, II, 330 ff.; cf. *The Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*, [II.] 1888, p. 394; *North Riding Record Society, Publications*, IV, 20, note; *History of Witchcraft, sketched from the Popular Tales of the Peasantry of Nithsdale and Galloway* (R. H. Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, 1810, pp. 272 ff.); H. M. Doughty, *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1898, CLXIII, 394-395; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Hazlitt, III, 71, 95, 96, 100 ff.; *The Antiquary*, XLI, 363; W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, 1883; Miss Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, Chap. xiii; W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, 1879, Chap. vi; J. G. Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1902; *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, VII, 613, XI, 497-498; 3rd Series, II, 325; 4th Series, III, 238, VII, 53, VIII, 44; 5th Series, V, 126, 223, IX, 433, X, 205, XI, 66; 6th Series, I, 19, II, 145, IV, 510; 7th Series, IX, 425, XI, 43; 8th Series, IV, 186, 192, V, 226, VI, 6, VII, 246; 9th Series, II, 466, XII, 187; the journal, *Folk-Lore*, *passim*.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Allen Putnam, *Witchcraft of New England explained by Modern Spiritualism*, Boston, 1880.

belief in witchcraft, as we have already had occasion to remark, was a constant quantity; but outbreaks of prosecution came, in England—and, generally speaking, elsewhere—spasmodically, at irregular intervals. If we look at Great Britain for a moment, we shall see that such outbreaks are likely to coincide with times of political excitement or anxiety. Thus early in Elizabeth's reign, when everything was more or less unsettled, Bishop Jewel, whom all historians delight to honor, made a deliberate and avowed digression, in a sermon before the queen, in order to warn her that witchcraft was rampant in the realm, to inform her (on the evidence of his own eyes) that her subjects were being injured in their goods and their health, and to exhort her to enforce the law.²⁰⁵ The initial zeal of James I. in the prosecution of witches stood in close connection with the trouble he was having with his turbulent cousin Francis Bothwell.²⁰⁶ The operations of Matthew Hopkins (in 1645-1647) were a mere accompaniment to the tumult of the Civil War; the year in which they began was the year of Laud's execution and of the Battle of Naseby. The Restoration was followed by a fresh outbreak of witch prosecution,—mild in England, though far-reaching in its consequences, but very sharp in Scotland.

With facts like these in view, we can hardly regard it as an accident that the Salem witchcraft marks a time

²⁰⁵ "And by the way, to touch but a word or two of this matter, for that the horrible vsing of your poore subiects inforsoeth thereunto: It may please your Grace to vnderstand, that this kind of people, I meane witches, and sorcerers, within these few last yeeres, are maruellously increased within this your Graces realme. These eies haue seene most euident and manifest marks of their wickednesse. Your Graces subiects pine away euen vnto death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft. Wherefore, your poore subiects most humble petition vnto your Highnesse is, that the lawes touching such malefactours, may be put in due execution. For the shole of them is great, their doings horrible, their malice intollerable, the examples most miserable. And I pray God, they neuer practise further, then vpon the subiect. But this only by the way, these be the scholers of Beelsebub the chiefe captaine of the Diuels" (*Certaine Sermons*, 1611, p. 204, in *Workes of Jewell*; cf. *Parker Society edition*, Part II, p. 1028). I cannot date this sermon. 1572, the year to which it is assigned by Dr. Nicholson (in his edition of *Reginald Scot's Discoverie*, p. xxxii), is certainly wrong, for Jewel died in 1571. Strype associates it rather vaguely with the passage of the Witchcraft Act of 1563 (*Annals of the Reformation*, I, 8; cf. I, 295).

²⁰⁶ Legge, *The Scottish Review*, XVIII, 282. See also *Newes from Scotland declaring the Damnable Life of Dr. Fian*, 1591 (Roxburghe Club reprint).

when the Colony was just emerging from a political struggle that had threatened its very existence. For several years men's minds had been on the rack. The nervous condition of public feeling is wonderfully well depicted in a letter written in 1688 by the Rev. Joshua Moodey in Boston to Increase Mather, then in London as agent of the Colony. The Colonists are much pleased by the favor with which Mather has been received, but they distrust court promises. They are alarmed by a report that Mather and his associates have suffered "a great slurr" on account of certain over-zealous actions. Moodey rejoices in the death of Robert Mason, "one of the worst enemies that you & I & Mr. Morton had in these parts." Then there are the Indians:—"The cloud looks very dark and black upon us, & wee are under very awfull circumstances, which render an Indian Warr terrible to us." The Colonists shudder at a rumor that John Palmer, one of Andros's Council, is to come over as Supreme Judge, and know not how to reconcile it with the news of the progress their affairs have been making with the King. And finally, the writer gives an account of the case of Goodwin's afflicted children, which, as we know, was a kind of prologue to the Salem outbreak:—"Wee have a very strange th[ing] among us, which we know not what to make of, except it bee Witchcraft, as we think it must needs bee."²⁰⁷ Clearly, there would have been small fear, in 1692, of a plot on Satan's part to destroy the Province, if our forefathers had not recently encountered other dangers of a more tangible kind.

In conclusion, I may venture to sum up, in the form of a number of brief theses, the main results at which we appear to have arrived in our discussion of witchcraft:—

✓ 1. The belief in witchcraft is the common heritage of humanity. It is not chargeable to any particular time, or race, or form of religion.

²⁰⁷ Mather Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th Series, VIII, 366-368. This was the same Joshua Moodey, it will be remembered, who afterwards assisted Philip English and his family to escape from jail in Boston, and thus saved them from being executed as guilty of witchcraft (Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, I, 376-377.)

- ✓ 2. Witchcraft in some shape or other is still credited by a majority of the human race.
- ✓ 3. The belief in witchcraft was practically universal in the seventeenth century, even among the educated; with the mass of the people it was absolutely universal.
4. To believe in witchcraft in the seventeenth century was no more discreditable to a man's head or heart than it was to believe in spontaneous generation or to be ignorant of the germ theory of disease.
5. The position of the seventeenth-century believers in witchcraft was logically and theologically stronger than that of the few persons who rejected the current belief.
- 6. The impulse to put a witch to death comes from the instinct of self-preservation. It is no more cruel or otherwise blameworthy, in itself, than the impulse to put a murderer to death.
7. The belief in witchcraft manifests itself, not in steady and continuous prosecution, but in sudden outbreaks occurring at irregular intervals.
8. Such outbreaks are not symptoms of extraordinary superstition or of a peculiarly acute state of unreason. They are due, like other panics, to a perturbed condition of the public mind. Hence they are likely to accompany, or to follow, crises in politics or religion.
- 9. The responsibility for any witch prosecution rests primarily on the community or neighborhood as a whole, not on the judge or the jury.
- 10. No jury, whether in a witch trial or in any other case, can be more enlightened than the general run of the vicinage.
- 11. Many persons who have been executed for witchcraft have supposed themselves to be guilty and have actually been guilty in intent.
- 12. Practically every person executed for witchcraft believed in the reality of such a crime, whether he supposed himself to be guilty of it or not.
- 13. The witch beliefs of New England were brought over from the Mother Country by the first settlers.

14. Spectral evidence had been admitted in the examinations and trials of witches in England for a hundred years before the Salem prosecutions took place.

15. Trials, convictions, and executions for witchcraft occurred in England after they had come to an end in Massachusetts, and they occurred on the Continent a hundred years later than that time.

16. Spectral evidence was admitted in English witch trials after such trials had ceased in Massachusetts.

17. The total number of persons executed for witchcraft in New England from the first settlement to the end of the century is inconsiderable, especially in view of what was going on in Europe.

18. The public repentance and recantation of judge and jury in Massachusetts have no parallel in the history of witchcraft.

19. The repentance and recantation came at a time which made them singularly effective arguments in the hands of the opponents of the witch dogma in England.

20. The record of New England in the matter of witchcraft is highly creditable, when considered as a whole and from the comparative point of view.

21. It is easy to be wise after the fact,—especially when the fact is two hundred years old.

THE ALMANACS OF ROGER SHERMAN 1750-1761.

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

INTRODUCTION.

American almanacs offer an interesting subject for inquiry, and several students have already written more or less of them, of which the best examples are those of Amos Perry, Samuel Briggs, Paul Leicester Ford, George Lyman Kittredge, Albert Carlos Bates and Matthew A. Stickney. To these has now (March, 1907) been added a "Preliminary Check List of American Almanacs, 1639-1800", compiled by Hugh Alexander Morrison, of the Library of Congress. This is a tentative list and the result of some years of devotion. Mr. Morrison hopes to be able to enlarge his list, and his plan is to produce, eventually, a full and accurately-described bibliography. The weakest part of his work is where he depends upon the "American Bibliography" of Charles Evans, because Mr. Evans has introduced many titles upon supposition, which will lead to endless confusion and catch the unwary. So intricate a subject can be studied best by the monographic method, in which a single series is given concentration for the solution of the problematic questions which are inevitably connected with such publications. A conviction of this need is responsible for the present paper.

Roger Sherman was born in Newton, Mass., on April 19, 1721 (O. S.). When he was two years of age his parents removed to that section of Stoughton which has since become Canton, and here he resided for twenty years. It was the formative period of his life, during which he attended the common country school and imbibed the limited knowl-

edge which it imparted. Here he also learned the trade of shoemaker from his father, with whom he worked. With an open book by his side he restored the soles of his neighborhood's shoes and was mindful of his own soul's needs. If fancy may take flight we may observe him jabbing with his awl the resisting leather and pulling out with the sewing threads the solution of some knotty problem in mathematics or philosophy. It is not unlikely that he was influenced in his intellectual pursuits by the example of the Rev. Samuel Dunbar, the pastor of his family's church. With this church he united in March, 1742, which was just a year after the death of his father. In June, 1743, the family removed to New Milford, Conn., where Roger Sherman began his official career in 1745, having been appointed "Surveyor of Lands for the County of New Haven," a post which he held until 1752, when New Milford was allotted to the newly organized Litchfield County. He served the new county in a similar position until his resignation in 1758. The New Milford period of his life is associated with his series of almanacs, and therefore arrests attention here.

From 1748 to 1756 Roger Sherman dwelt in his own house in Park Lane. In the latter year his brother William died, resulting in his removal to the brother's home, which was connected with the first village store-building in New Milford. Roger carried on the business until the year 1760, when he sold the property, and soon withdrew to New Haven. His business relations afforded him experience of the evils of a currency consisting of depreciating bills of credit of the colonies, and he gave expression to his opinions in a pamphlet on the subject, written under the pseudonym of "Phileunomos", and entitled, "A Caveat against Injustice", which was printed at New York, by Henry De Foreest, in 1752. The only known copy of this tract is in the collection of his descendant and our lamented vice-president, the late Senator George F. Hoar. He reverted to the same subject while preparing his almanac for 1753 (New London), and in vigorous terms denounced the dishonesty which these depreciated bills produced in

business transactions. Besides his business activities and his office of surveyor of lands, Sherman was a justice of the peace for Litchfield County (appointed May, 1755) and justice of the quorum (appointed May, 1759); he also represented the town of New Milford in the General Assembly of the colony from May, 1755 until his removal to New Haven in 1761, during each semi-annual term, except those of the years 1756 and 1757, when, no doubt owing to the added duties of his business and late brother's affairs, he was prevented from engaging in that service. We have already observed that he sold his business in the year 1760, which was also the year of his great bereavement, for on October 19, his wife, Elizabeth Hartwell, whom he had married in 1749, died at the age of thirty-four years. He had spent eighteen years of his life in New Milford—a period of active preparation for the yet higher calling which awaited him in the service of his fellowmen and country.*

Sherman had for some years studied the mathematics for his own amusement, which led many of his friends and acquaintances to suggest to him the preparation of an almanac. He tells the story of this undertaking in his Boston almanac of 1750, viz:

"To the READER.

I Have for several Years past for my own Amusement spent some of my leisure Hours in the Study of *Mathematicks*; not with any Intent to appear in publick: But at the Desire of many of my Friends and Acquaintance, I have been induced to calculate and publish the following ALMANACK for the Year 1750—I have put in every Thing that I thought would be useful that could be contained in such contracted Limits:—I have taken much Care to perform the Calculations truly, not having the Help of any *Ephemeris*: And I would desire the Reader not to condemn it if it should in some Things differ from other Authors, until Observations have determined which is in the wrong.—I need say nothing by way of Explan-

*The biographical data have been interpreted from *The Life of Roger Sherman*, by Lewis H. Boutell, Chicago, 1896, pp. 18-41.

ation of the following Pages, they being placed in the same Order that has been for many Years practised by the ingenious and celebrated Dr. *Ames*, with which you are well acquainted.— If this shall find Acceptance perhaps it may encourage me to serve my Country this Way for Time to come.

New Milford August 1. 1749.

R SHERMAN."

Not only did Sherman model his almanacs after those of Nathaniel Ames, the elder, but these two kindred spirits exchanged correspondence pertaining to astronomical calculations. One of these letters has fortunately survived the ravages of time, and is as follows:¹

"New Milford July 14th 1753

S^r. I Received your Letter this Day and return you thanks for the papers you Sent Inclosed. I find that there was a Considerable Mistake in the Calculation of the 2 Lunar Eclipses which I Sent to you in my last letter which was occasioned by my mistake in taking out the mean motion of the Sun for the Radical Year and I have now Sent inclosed (them) with the rest of the Eclipses as I have Since Calculated them for the Meridian of New London—I have also Sent one of my Almanacks.—I Expect to go to New-Haven in August next and I will enquire of m^r. Clap about the Comet You mentioned and will write to you what Itelligence[sic] I can get from him about it the first opportunity—I am

S^r. Your very humble Serv^t

Roger Sherman."

The interest of the eighteenth-century public in the almanac-maker's products has been versified by the poet Freneau:

"Thus Nature waiting at his call,
His book, in vogue with great and small,
Is sought, admir'd, and read by all."²

¹Copied from the facsimile in Briggs. *The Essays, Humor, and Poems of Nathaniel Ames*. Cleveland, Ohio, 1891, p. 224.

²"The Almanac Maker," in Freneau's *Poems*. Monmouth, N. J., 1795, p. 90

But he also lampooned him because

"He tells us when the sun will rise,
Points out fair days, or clouded skies;—
No matter if he sometimes lies."⁸

That the almanac-maker was not always responsible for the whole contents of his publication, is determined in Sherman's case by a very droll experience. He had prepared two almanacs for the year 1750, one for Boston and another for New York. In his haste to get off the "copy" to Henry DeForeest, the printer of the latter, he was obliged to send it incomplete, but gave the printer latitude "to put in whatsoever else he should think proper." But the Dutch printer of New York had different standards of taste than the Puritan author of Connecticut. He inserted the following naive "Observations" on the months and quarters of the year, to which Sherman objected, as we shall see.

" OBSERVATIONS ON JANUARY.

This Year begins as the last ended, and truly very well it may, for their two contiguous End, cling so fast together, one can't thrust a Knife between 'em. I find by the Stars that the g[r]eatest disease incident to this Month is Want of Money, caus'd by the great Consumption of Wood, Candles, and Canary, three valluable Things this Cold Season: But besides the Coldness of the Season, we are like to have three other Sorts of Weather this Month; First, terrible nipping Weather, where the Maid gives the young Man a Denial: Secondly, suspicious Weather, where the Master kisses the Maid behind the Door: And thirdly, turbulent Weather, where the Mistress scolds and fights both Maid and Husband, making the House too hot for either.

OBSERVATIONS FOR FEBRUARY.

Now Valentine's Day approaches, which shall cause many to fall in Love, even as a Fly falls into an Honey pot; which may

⁸ Ibid.

make some believe, that Marriage is very sweet: But marry a Whore, and it breads the Headach; marry a Slut and she will poison you; and marry a Scold and your Fare is altogether Rue and Wormwood.

OBSERVATIONS FOR MARCH.

Now the Spring approaches many of your Ambergrease Gallants, as brave Gentlemen as the Taylor can make them, shall go a wooing to rich Heiresses, being strongly provided with Honey Words, Sugarcandy Expressions and most delicious Sentences: But alas! their Luck is like to be naught; for as the World goes now, no Penny no Pater-noster; and those who have no Lands but what lies beyond reach, will hardly catch such Fortunes.

OBSERVATIONS FOR APRIL.

The Weather is as fickle and unconstant this Month as Women's Wills. But be their Wills constant or inconstant, their Conditions good, bad or indifferent, when once the Violets, Cowslips, Da[il]ies, &c. deck the Fields, they seldom want Hangby's to help gather them.

OBSERVATIONS FOR MAY.

Should we have no rain this Month, it will increase the Price of Butter; but if we have nothing but Rain it will hinder the Maids from gathering Flowers.

OBSERVATIONS FOR JUNE.

Saturn this Month, in his Mulligrubs, causes some Desperadoes to vomit out more oaths at one supper than would maintain a town or garrison in good swearing a twelve-month round. Victuals will not be so plentiful, but that many people, instead of a Flown or Custard, must be content to sup with a fool.

OBSERVATIONS FOR JULY.

This hot, sultry weather will make some so faint, their lubberly legs shall scarce carry their lob-cock bodies; and so stupify the brains of others, that they will audaciously rail against knavery, and practice it themselves. A thief and a

hangman are two mens trades, but men are now a-days so addicted to interloping, that one person often practice[s] both.

OBSERVATIONS FOR AUGUST.

The dogstar's reign will this month have an end; but when peoples doged humours, the barking of froward wives or lurking of bum-baliffs will cease, is beyond our skill to tell. Many people shall be out witted, they being without wit.

OBSERVATIONS FOR SEPTEMBER.

Was there as great a scarcity of money, as of honesty many covetous persons would hang themselves did not the tho'ts of wearing two-pence in a halter deter them from it.

OBSERVATIONS FOR OCTOBER.

Now the farmers are very busy sowing wheat for another harvest; were it not for them the bakers might leave trading and many thousands of People shut up their mouths; for a good breakfast to a hungry man is better than a kiss of the fairest lady in the whole universe.

OBSERVATIONS FOR NOVEMBER.

Comfortable caudles warm, jellies and a kind she bed fellow, are three things very requisite all this Month; and he that hath a full purse may command them all; But the love of money is the root of evil; few misers go to heaven, for charity being the way thither they'll not go to the cost of it.

OBSERVATIONS FOR DECEMBER.

Every thing hath a beginning, as the boy told his master, who said, he took his boy to be no liar, and had found the contrary. If I should predict of great feastings this *Christmas* you may think me no liar, but I fear you'll find the contrary.

Of the four Quarters of the Year, and first of the

SPRING.

The Spring or Vernal Quarter, the most delightful Season of the whole Year, sticks so close to the Heels of exorbitant

- Winter, it would puzzle the wisest of us Conjugers to thrust his Knife betwixt them.

*Now gilded Titian gather's Force and Strength,
And Days and Nights are of an equal Length.*

This Quarter brings Shoals of Herrings, Green-Pease, Cherries, Custards, &c. &c. all which are to be had by those that have Money, but without money you can have nothing: Hold! here I had like to have made a blunder! for Poverty is so cheap you may have it for nothing; nay, several now a days purchase it with Laziness, which is worse than nothing; but during this pleasant Season one would imagine Wealth were a Burden, for none are so merry as those that are free from it, now Shepherds pipe merrily for the Departure of Winter; the Nightingales sing the Sun asleep, and a wild, but charming Chorus, is eccho'd from every Bough.

*Thus do the Quire of chirping Minstrels bring,
In Triumph on the Stage, the youthful Spring.*

SUMMER.

This Quarter follows Spring as close as that did Winter, and according to the Account of ancient Astrologers, mounts the Stage on St. Barnabas's Day, viz. the 11th of June; our modern Minute splitters will needs have it enter a Day or two sooner; but not to exasperate the Disputants, we shall at present allow them both to be in the right (for even Conjugers like to be flatter'd) we say therefore it does begin sometime then about, for a day or two can break no great squares.

ANTUMN.[sic]

This Quarter begins at Don Phebus's Entrance into the Equinoctial Sign Libra, which Rablantadis would have to be a Pair of heavenly Scales, to weigh Userers Consciences, and Bawds Maiden-heads.

*And both of them, put into a scale together,
Will be o'er pois'd ev'n by one single Feather.*

Now Days and Nights are again become equal, no more Difference betwixt them than betwixt a Lawyer and a Knave.

The Farmer's Barns are now full of Wheat, and he busy in sowing more for another Year, and all because Wheat is so excellent a Grain for the making of Bag-puddings. This Quarter produces store of Hazel-nuts, and raw Cyder, one of which spoileth the Teeth, the other causeth the Belly ach.

WINTER.

This being the last and worst Quarter of the four, like a Dish of chubs at the latter End of a Feast, brings up the Rear.

Now days are very short, and Nights premontriposterous long; consequently, now is the properest Time for the tearing of sheets, and begetting Bantlings; by reason lazy Lubbers have an Oppertunity to lie long in Bed, without the Disturbance of Day-light or hot Sun-shine.

This Quarter used to be welcome to poor People, when good Housekeeping was in fashion, because, it always brings Christmass along with it; but now Pride, Gaming, and Whoring, have turn'd good Housekeeping out of Doors.

*Yet here and there remaineth some, that will,
Uphold good Orders, and keep Christmass still.*

The Sun about the middle of this Quarter gliding through the Pitchers, signifies that many Persons, notwithstanding the cold Weather, will be very thirsty; so that whole Rivers of Beer and Ale will run down Gutter-Lane, even to the very exhausting of all their springs, were it not for the epidemical Disease, the want of Money: For most Hostesses are now turned Nullifidians, chusing rather to see white Money in their Purse, than white Chalk on a Post.

But to conclude (as the Parson says, and that sometimes perhaps before he hath half done) but to conclude, I say again during this season, good Fires, warm Cloths, a Pot of Ale and a Toast in the Morning, a shoulder of Mutton and a Capon for Dinner, and a good sack-posset for supper, are very excellent Things to keep out the cold. And so much for the four Quarters of the Year.

*More might be said, but then more must be spoke,
Words are but Words, and Words but a mere Joke."*

This breach of judgment on the part of the printer, while it did not cause an estrangement between them, yet induced Sherman to utter a protest, which was printed in James Parker's *New York Gazette revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, Numb. 366, for January 22, 1749-1750, in these definite terms, and which re-appeared once more on the following Monday (January 29):

"I the Subscriber, having, at the Desire of Mr. Henry De Foreest, of New-York, Printer, calculated an Almanack for the Year 1750, and sent it to him to print: Upon reading said Almanack after it was printed, was very much surprized to see what large Additions were made to it after it went from my Hands, and all in my Name; and also the Rising and Setting of the Moon was left out; all the Observations upon the 12 Months, inserted between the Title Page and the Eclipses; and also the Observations on the four Quarters of the Year, (towards the latter End of the Almanack) were added after it went from me, and without my Approbation or Knowledge. 'Tis true, I did desire the Printer to put in the Courts, Fairs, and Quaker's Meetings; for I had Opportunity to send the Copy before I had put them in; and the Person that carried it being in Haste, I sent it without inserting them: The last Thing in my Copy, was the Tide-Table. I think I gave the Printer Liberty in my Letter, to put in whatsoever else he should think proper; but did not expect that he would have added any Thing, but what is common in Almanacks; as the Discription[sic] of the Roads, &c. But since he was pleased to insert his aforesaid Prognostiferous Observations, which is such a rare and extraordinary Performance, that I thought I should not do Justice to the Gentleman's Character, if I did not let the Publick know who was the Author of it.
New-Milford, Jan. 16, 1749-50.

ROGER SHERMAN."

Of course, De Foreest must have smarted under this criticism about his "Prognostiferous Observations" and "extraordinary Performance," with which Sherman saddled him as the author, in order to "do Justice to the Gentleman's Character." De Foreest, therefore, in the next

issue of his *New-York Evening Post*, Numb. 245, for January 29, 1750, answered Sherman, in apparent *sub rosa* form, as follows:

“Mr. DE FOREEST.

Be pleased to Incert the following Verses from Tate and Brady, and you'll oblige your constant Reader.

A. B.

THE sland'ring Tongue, O God of Truth,
By the shall be destroy'd;
Who hat'st alike the Man in Blood,
And in Deceit employ'd

Ps. XV. Verse 1. 2. 3.

Lord, who's the happy Man, that may
To thy blest Courts repair;
Not, Stranger like, to Visit them,
But to inhabit there?

'Tis he whose ev'ry Thought and Deed
By Rules and Virtue moves;
Whose gen'rous Tongue disdains to speak,
The Thing his Heart disproves.

Who never did a Slander forge,
His Neighbour's Fame to wound;
Nor hearken to a false Report,
By Malice whisper'd round.


Ps. XXXIV. Verse 12.

Let him who Length of Life desires,
And prosp'rous Days would see,
From sland'ring Language keep his Tongue,
His Lips from Falsehood free.

Solomon says, Devise not Evil against thy Neighbour seeing he dwelleth securely with thee.”

Sherman had another, but less serious, experience in 1754 with Timothy Green of New London, about which

he informed his readers in his Boston almanac of 1755. He says:

“ I would inform the Reader, that in the Copy of my last Year's Almanack that was printed at New-London, in the last page (save one) I inserted an Ephemeris of the Planets Motions for the Year 1754; but by Mistake, the Printer left out that which I calculated, and instead thereof, re printed an Ephemeris for the Year 1751, from the Leaf of an old Almanack which I sent to him inclosed in a Letter for a Samplar to print the other by. And inasmuch as an Ephemeris would be of little Advantage to the generality of my Readers, I have not inserted one in this Year's Almanack.

R. Sherman.”

It is sufficient to state that Timothy Green was no longer entrusted with the printing of Sherman's almanacs, which henceforth saw the light of day in New Haven or Boston.

But if Sherman found fault with his printers, his readers also criticised him, as he informs us, with autobiographical interest, in his New Haven almanac of 1758, as follows:

“**I** Have been informed that some good People in the Country, dislike my *Almanack*, because the observable Days of the Church of *England* are inserted in it, from thence, concluded that I am a *Church-man*; but to remove this Prejudice I would take leave to inform them, that altho' I have a high Esteem of the Church of England, consider'd as a reform'd Protestant Church and as agreeing with other Protestant Churches in the most important Matters of Faith: Yet I never could see any Thing so necessary or eligible in those Rites and other Circumstantials, wherein it differs from other Protestants Churches, as to be a sufficient Inducement or Warrant for Separation from the *Presbyterian* or Congregational Churches in *New-England*, to join with the *Episcopal* Church; neither do I suppose the Observation of those Day[s] necessary: But as I take Liberty in these Matters to judge for myself, so I think it reasonable that Others should have the same Liberty; and since my Design in this Performance is to serve the Publick,

and the inserting of those observable Days does not croud out any Thing that might be more serviceable, I hope none of my Readers will be displeased with it for the Future.

R. SHERMAN."

During the past four years I have visited many libraries, in which I found thirty-seven Sherman almanacs, two of them being imperfect. I have also described *de visu* the only known copy of the first New York issue, of 1750, in the private library of Mr. E. Dwight Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y. The results of this investigation show that there were two distinct almanacs for 1750, one printed at New York and the other at Boston; similarly two for 1751, but of which no copy of the New York edition is known to be extant; probably one of New York for 1752, but no certainty exists about it; two for 1753 and two for 1754, one of each printed at New York and at New London; one of Boston for 1755 (two issues); one of New Haven for each of the years 1756, 1757, 1758 and probably also 1759, but of 1757 and 1759 no copies are known to be extant; and Boston issues for 1760 and 1761. These are all described carefully in the bibliographical portion of this study, by line-title transcripts of their title-pages, by a designation of their contents, etc., as well as an indication by initials where copies have been seen. The difficulties of such an inquiry may be judged from the fact that no copies were found in the Essex Institute, at Salem; in the three libraries of Providence, in and about the campus of Brown University; in Yale University; in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Boston Athenæum; in the New York State Library, and other institutions. Of four yearly editions no copies whatever have been traced; of four other yearly issues only one copy of each has been located; two years are represented by two each; five yearly issues are represented by from three to five copies each; and of the year 1760, there are two issues by the same printer, represented altogether by eight copies.

The poetical effusions in Sherman's almanacs are either quoted from Pope, Denham, Davenant, Addison, Dryden,

Milton, Prior and Young, or are homemade. I have extracted of the latter class those that were characteristic. Similarly, I have copied all of the "sayings", which are arranged in alphabetic order, as a contribution to the literature of proverbs. Undoubtedly these are not all originals, but I believe many are not quoted, and their determination belongs to the literary specialist, for whose benefit the collection is contributed. The poetry, "sayings," and other extracted matter, such as Sherman's views on depreciated bills of credit, and an historical narrative of the capture of Quebec, by Captain Furlong, are formed into an appendix to this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(arranged chronologically by almanac years)

1750—NEW YORK

An | Almanack, | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1750. | Being the Second Year after Leap-Year, and | in the Twenty Third Year of the Reign of | our most gracious Sovereign Lord King | George the Second. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, | Suns Rising and Setting, the mutual Aspects | of the Planets, and their Places in the Eclip- | tick, Rising and Setting of the Seven Stars, | Time of High-Water, Moons Age, Courts, | Fairs, General Meetings, observable Days,—Judgement of the Weather, and a Description | of the Roads, &c. | Fitted for the Latitude of 41 Degrees, North, | and for the Meridian of the City of New- | York but may without sensible Error, serve | for all the Neighbouring Governments. | By Roger Sherman. |

New-York. | Printed and Sold by Henry De Foreest, living in Wall- | Street, at the sign of the printing Press. |

Collation: Eleven leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Humorous "Observations" on each month of the year; eclipses for the year; "The Names and Characters of Planets Signs and Aspects"; "Common Notes for the Year 1748"; twelve stanzas; almanac for the year; "Of the four Quarters of the Year"; "A Brief Chronology, 1750", from 23 years to 5759 years prior to the year 1750; "Courts" in New York and New Jersey; "Quakers General Meetings"; "Fairs"; "A Description of the Highways and Roads" [misprinted, Raods].

Copies seen: E. Dwight Church (only known copy).

1750—BOSTON

An Astronomical Diary, | Or, an | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1750. | Being the 2d Year after Bissextile or Leap-Year. | And in the Twenty-third Year of the Reign of our | most gracious Sovereign King George II. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses of | the Luminaries, Aspects, Sun, Moon and Seven Stars | Rising and Setting, Time of High Water at Boston, and | fundry other Places, Courts in the several Governments | in New-England, and Province of New-York, Fasts and | Festivals of the Church of England, Quakers

General | Meetings, and other observable Days, Spring Tides, |
Judgment of Weather, &c. | Calculated for the Meridian of Bos-
ton, in | New-England, Lat. 42 Deg. 25 Min. North | and about
4 Hours, & 40 Min. West from the | Meridian of London. | By
Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, six lines.*] |

Boston, in New-England: | Printed by J. Draper, for the Book-
sellers. | Price 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ s. Single, & 12s. per Dozen. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, one of which is on the title; "To the Reader" on verso of the title; almanac for the year; "How to find High Water", etc.; "Eclipses"; "Supream Courts in New-York"; "Quakers General Meetings".

Copies seen: AAS; CHS; HC; MHS.

1751—NEW YORK

[An Almanack, For the Year of our Lord Christ, 1751. By Roger Sherman. New-York: Printed and Sold by Henry De Foreest, in Wall-Street, at the Sign of the Printing Press.]

No copy has been discovered. De Foreest announced it in his newspaper, *The New-York Evening Post*, for the first time, in the issue Numb. 283, for Monday, October 22, 1750, as follows:

"Just publish'd and to be sold by the Printer hereof. An ALMANACK, for the year 1751. Fitted for the Meridian of the City of New-York, but may without sensible error serve for all the Neighbouring Governments. By

ROGER SHERMAN."

This advertisement reappeared in his paper for many months, and for the last time in Numb. 311, for May 6, 1751, upon De Foreest's removal "from *Wall-Street*, into House of the late *Peter Bondt*, deceased, in *King-Street*," where he continued to carry on "the Printing and Book binding Business."

1751—BOSTON

An Astronomical Diary | or, an | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ | 1751. | Being the Third Year after Biffextile or Leap-Year. | And the Twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of our

| most Gracious Sovereign King George the II^d. | Wherein are contained the Lunations, Eclipses of the | Luminaries, Aspects of the Planets, and their Places | in the Ecliptick, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, | Time of High-Water at Boston, and other Places, | Courts, Fafts and Festivals of the Church of England, | Quakers General Meetings, and other observable Days, | Spring-Tides, Judgment of the Weather, &c. | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston, in New- | England, Lat. 42 Deg. 25 Min. North and | 4 Hours 45 Min West from the Meridian of London. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, eight lines.*] |

Boston. in New-England: | Printed by J. Draper, for the Booksellers. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, one of which is on the title; eclipses for the year; "Explanation" of the almanac; almanac for the year; "Common Notes for the Year"; "Ephemeris"; "High Water"; "Quakers General Meetings"; names of planets, etc. Advertised in Draper's *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, No. 2537, for Dec. 27, 1750, "To be Sold by Kneeland and Green, and D. Fowle in Queen-street, D. Gookin in Marlborough-street, and by the Printer of this Paper; as also by Mr. Timothy Green at New-London".

Copies seen: HC; LC (lacks last leaf).

1752—NEW YORK?

[An Almanack for the Year 1752. New-York: Henry De-Forest.]

It is uncertain whether De Forest printed an almanac by Roger Sherman for this year. In his newspaper, *The New-York Evening Post*, no definite advertisement, with Sherman's name attached, appeared. In Numb. 238, for November 11, 1751, he announced as follows: "Almanacks for the Year 1752, just Published, and to be sold by the Printer hereof." As he did print Sherman almanacs for 1750, 1751, 1753 and 1754, it is probable that he also printed one for the year 1752.

1753—NEW YORK

An Astronomical Diary. | Or an | Almanack, | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1753. | Being the first Year after Biffextile, or Leap-Year, and in | the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of our

most gracious | Sovereign King George. II. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, the mutual | Aspects of the Planets and their Places in the Ecliptick, | Sun, Moon and Seven Stars Rising and Setting, Time | of High Water at New-York, and sundry other Places, Courts, Observable Days, Quakers General Meetings, | Spring-Tides, Judgement of Weather, &c. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, ten lines.*] |

New-York. | Printed and Sold by Henry De Foreest in King-Street. |

Collation: Twelve leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Eleven stanzas, one being on the title; "Common Notes, for the Year 1743"[sic]; eclipses for the year 1753; almanac for the year; calculation on the transit of Mercury in 1753; "How to find the Time of High Water at Boston, Rhode Island, New Haven and other Places"; the signs of the Zodiac; names, etc. of the Aspects; "A Table of the Distances of the Planets from the Sun", [etc.]; dates of sessions of various courts in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; fairs; "Quaker General Meetings"; "Of Guaging Casks"; "Of Measuring Boards, Glass, &c."; "Of Measuring Solids, as Timber, &c."; "Of Interest"; "A Table of Interest at 7 per Cent."; "A Description of the Roads".

On the verso of the title the following note is given in explanation of the change in the calendar: "THIS Year 1753 being according to the Act of *Parliament*, reduced to the New-Style, begins 11 Days sooner than it would have done according to Old-Style, and consequently, the first Day of January is that which in the Old-Style wou'd have been the 21st Day of December 1752: And in the following *Almanack* the Time of the setting of Courts and the stated *Festivals* and *Fasts* of the Church of *England*, are put on the same nominal Days as they were in the Old-Style, altho' they are eleven Days sooner as to the true Time or Season of the Year, which is according to the Direction in said Act. But the Time when his present Majesty K. GEORGE, II. was born, began to reign, was crowned, the Birth of the Prince of Wales, and other late Transactions and Events that are Observable are not put on the same nominal Days as in the Old-Style, but at their true Time according to New Style."

Copies seen: NYPL.

1753—NEW LONDON

An Astronomical Diary, | or, an | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1753. | Being the first after Bissextile, or Leap- | Year: And in the Twenty-Sixth Year | of the Reign of our most Gracious Sove- | reign King George II | Wherein is

contained the Lunations, Eclipses, | Mutual Aspects of the Planets, Sun and | Moon's Rising & Setting, Rising, Setting & | Southing of the Seven Stars, Time of High- | Water, Courts, Observable Days, Spring | Tides, Judgment of the Weather, &c. | Calculated for the Lat. of 41 Deg. North, & the | Meridian of New-London in Connecticut. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, ten lines.*] |

New London: | Printed & Sold by T. Green, 1753. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Eleven stanzas, mostly from Pope, one of which is on the title; an explanation of calculating by "new style"; eclipses of the year; "Common Notes for the Year 1753"; almanac for the year; transit of Mercury, etc.; depreciation of Bills of Credit, on last leaf (2 pp.).

Copies seen: AAS; CHS; Hoar; LC; NYHS.

1754—NEW YORK

An Astronomical Diary. | Or an | Almanack, | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1754. | Being the second Year after the Biffextile, or Leap-Year. | In the 27th Year of the Reign of King George, II. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, Mutual Af- | pects of the Planets; and their places in the Ecliptick, | Sun and Moon's rising and setting, rising, setting and | southing of the seven Stars, Time of High-Water, Courts, | Observable Days, Quaker's General Meetings, Spring- | Tides, Judgment of the Weather, Description of the | Roads, &c. | Calculated for the Latitude of 41 Degrees North, and the | Meridian of the City of New-York. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, from Addison, ten lines.*] |

New-York. | Printed and Sold by H. DeForeest, in King-Street. |

Collation: Apparently twelve leaves, without pagination. The only copy found, in the New York Public Library, has only eleven leaves. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, one of which is on the title; "An Explanation of the following Almanack"; names, etc. of the signs of the Zodiac; "An Ephemeris" for the year; almanac for the year; "Of the Eclipses for the Year 1754"; "The Names, Characters and Distances of the Aspects"; note on Venus as morning and evening star; "How to find the Time of High Water at Boston, Rhode-Island, New-Haven and other Places"; Court calendars of New York and New-Jersey; dates of "Quakers General Meetings"; seven lines from Young's *Night Thoughts*;

two pages of scientific explanations, beginning. "This World in which we dwell"; [Contents of last leaf unknown].

Copies seen: NYPL.

1754—NEW LONDON

An Astronomical Diary, | Or, An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1754. | Being the second Year after Bissex-tile, or | Leap-Year: In the Twenty-seventh Year | of the Reign of King George II. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, | Mutual Aspects of the Planets, and their | places in the Ecliptic, Sun & Moon's Rifing | and Setting, Rifing, Setting, and Southing of | the Seven Stars, Time of high-Water, Courts, | Obfervable Days, Spring Tides, Judgment | of the Weather, &c. | Calculated for the Lat. of 41 Deg. North, & the | Meridian of New-London in Connecticut. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, ten lines.*]

N. London, Printed & Sold by T. Green, 1754. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, one of which is on the title; almanac for the year; "Eclipses", etc.; "An Ephemeris of the Planets Motions"; "Free-Mens meeting"; "How to find the time of high-Water"; "The Rule of Gaging Cask according to Law".

Copies seen: Hoar; MHS.

1755—BOSTON

An Astronomical Diary: | or, an | Almanack, | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1755. | Being the third Year, after Bissex-tile or Leap-Year, | In the 28th Year of the Reign of K. George II. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclip- | ses, Sun and Moon's rifing and setting, the | mutual Aspects of the Planets, the Moon's | Place, Time of High-Water, Courts, ob- | fervable Days, Festivals and Fafts of the | Church of England, Spring-Tides, Judg- | ment of the Weather, a Description of | the Roads, &c. | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston, in New- | England, | Lat. 42 Degrees, 25 Min. North. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, eleven lines.*] |

Boston: Printed and Sold by Daniel Fowle | And by the Booksellers. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. The imprint of the copy in the Connecticut Historical Society is: "Boston: Printed and Sold by Daniel Fowle | in Ann Street, near the Head of the Town Dock." *Contents:* Twelve stanzas, one of which is on the title; eclipses for the year; "Common Notes for the Year 1755"; "The Planet Venus"; almanac for the year; note on "Free-Men's Meeting"; "A Poem on Drunkenness", one page; "A Description of the Roads".

Copies seen: CHS; HC; LC; NYHS; NYPL (imperfect, has only leaves with monthly almanac).

1756—NEW HAVEN

The Connecticut Diary: | or, | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1756: | Being the Biffextile or Leap-Year. | In the 29th Year of the Reign of King George the Second | Wherein are contained, the Lunations, Eclipses, Sun's and Moon's | rifing and setting; rifing, fetting and fouthing of the seven | Stars; Time of High-water, Courts, obfervable Days, Spring | Tides, Judgment of the Weather, &c. | Calculated for the Latitude of 41 Degrees North, and the | Meridian of New-Haven, in Connecticut. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, ten lines.*] |

New-Haven: Printed and Sold by J. Parker. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, one of which is on the title; "Eclipses for the Year 1756"; "Common Notes for the Year 1756"; almanac for the year; "An Account of the Distances of Places inhabited by the French, from the Mouth of the River St. Laurence to Mississippi"; "A Description of the Roads from New-Haven to Crown-Point", and "Roads".

It was announced in *The Connecticut Gazette*, No. 30, for November 1, 1755, as follows:

"Just published, and to be sold Wholesale or Retail, Price 3d. fingle, or 2s. per Dozen, Lawful Money; at the Printing-Office near the Hay Market, in New-Haven. The Connecticut Diary: or, ALMANACK, for the Year of our LORD CHRIST 1756: Calculated for the Latitude of 41 Degrees North, and the Meridian of New Haven in Connecticut.

By ROGER SHERMAN.

An Equivalent in Currency will be taken."

In the next number of the same newspaper, No. 31, for November 8, 1755, the above advertisement was repeated and the following note was added:

"As this *ALMANACK* is calculated in, adapted to, and printed for this Colony, it is hoped all Shop-keepers will give it the Preference: which if they are friends to the Country, they will do, when they consider, that if they purchase Almanacks from other Governments, so much money must necessarily be carried out of it, and that of the best kind, whilst these are paid for in the common Currency of the Colony, and they may be also assured, there is Nothing useful in any other, that is not in this."

Copies seen: CHS; Hoar; NYPL.

1757—NEW HAVEN

[An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack, For the Year of our Lord Christ, 1757. By Roger Sherman. New-Haven: Printed and Sold by James Parker, and Company.]

No copy has been found, but the printers announced it in their newspaper, *The Connecticut Gazette*, late in the year 1756, as follows:

SHERMAN'S ALMANACK for the Year 1757, to be sold at the Printing-Office, New-Haven, at 2/ per Doz. Or, *Five Coppers*, Single."

It was also referred to by Sherman in his New Haven almanac of 1758, under July 17 to 21, thus:

"The Comet mentioned in last Years Almanack is expected to appear about this time."

The printing-office of James Parker and Company was located in 1757 "at the Post-Office; near Capt. Peck's at the Long-Wharf."

1758—NEW HAVEN

An Astronomical Diary; | or an | Almanack, | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1758: | Being the second Year after Leap-

Year: And, | In the thirty first Year of the Reign of our Most Gracious | Sovereign King George the Second. | Wherein is contained, the Lunations, Eclipses, Sun's and Moon's | rising and setting, Aspects, Time of High-Water, Courts, ob- | servable Days, Spring Tides, Judgment of the Weather, &c. | Calculated for the Latitude of 41 Degrees, North, and the | Meridian of New-Haven, in Connecticut. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, twelve lines.*]

New-Haven: | Printed and Sold by James Parker, and Company. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, one of which is on the title; eclipses for the year; almanac for the year; table of interest on Connecticut Bills of Credit; roads.

Copies seen: CHS.

1759—NEW HAVEN?

No almanac by Sherman has been found for this year, nor have I been able to discover an advertisement or other evidence as proof that one was issued. Yet I think it not unlikely that one was printed by James Parker and Company, at New Haven.

1760—BOSTON

An Astronomical Diary, | or, an | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1760. | Being the Bissextile or Leap-Year.— In the 33d Year of the Reign of King George II. | Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, Sun's and | Moon's Rising and Setting, Aspects, Time of High | Water, Courts, observable Days, Spring-Tides, Judg- | ment of the Weather. | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston, in | New-England, Latitude 42 Degrees 25 | Minutes North. | By Roger Sherman. | [*Verse, ten lines.*] |

Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, | J. Edwards, M. Dennis J. Winter, | T. Leverett, and S. Webb. 1760. | [*"Note," four lines.*] |

Collation: Twelve leaves, without pagination. Some copies have not the "NOTE" at the end of the imprint, viz: "NOTE. By a late Law of the Province, the Courts of General | Sessions of the Peace and Inferiour Court of Common Pleas at Ply- | mouth, in and for the County

of Plymouth, are to be held on the | first Tuesday of January, April, July, and October, annually". | *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas about the French and Indian War, one of which is on the title; eclipses for the year 1760; signs of the Zodiac; "Vulgar Notes for the Gregorian Year 1760"; almanack for the year; table of bills emitted; roads from Boston and distances; table of the kings from Egbert to George II; "Computation" from the "Creation of the World"; "Remarkable Occurrences of later Date" (1749-1759); "Good News for New-England. Containing the most particular Account that has yet come to Hand, of the Reduction of the City of Quebec", covering four pages.

Copies seen: With the "Note" at the end of the imprint, AAS; BPL; HC; Hoar; NYHS (two copies). Without the "Note", CHS; MHS.

1761—BOSTON

An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | 1761. |
Being the first Year after Leap-Year. | In the 34th Year of the
Reign of King George II. |

Wherein is
contained the
Lunations E
clipses, Sun
and Moon's
Rising & Set-
ting, Aspects,

Cut of
Indian
with
bow and
arrow,
in a
frame

Time of High
Water, Courts
observable
Days, Spring-
Tides, Judg-
ment of the
Weather, &c.

Calculated for the Meridian of Boston, in | New-England, Latitude 42 Degrees, 25 | Minutes North. | By Roger Sherman. |
[Verse, ten lines.] |

Boston; New-England: | Printed by D. and J. Kneeland, for
D. Henchman, | J. Edwards, M. Dennis, J. Winter, T. Leverett,
| and S. Webb. 1761. |

Collation: Eight leaves, without pagination. *Contents:* Thirteen stanzas, partly on French and Indian War, one of which is on the title; eclipses for the year 1761 and tides; signs of the Zodiac; almanac for the year; table of interest on Connecticut bills; roads from Boston and distances.

Copies seen: AAS; BPL; HC; LC; NYPL

APPENDIX

PROSE EXTRACTS

SHERMAN ON DEPRECIATED BILLS OF CREDIT.

“TO fill up a vacant Page, I tho’t it would not be amiss to offer some tho’ts upon the Loss & Damages which the Inhabitants of the Colony of *Connecticut* have sustained by the depreciation of the Bills of Credit of *R. Island & N. Hampshire*, since the year 1750. It appears by the reports of two Committees that were appointed by the Gen. Assembly of *R. Island*, viz. one in 1749, to enquire what sum in Bills made to supply the Treasury were then outstanding, & the other in 1750 to enquire what sum was outstanding upon Loan & both said sums amounted to £561,314 old tenor, & I suppose that almost or quite the whole of said sums is now out standing, & they have since emitted Bills to the value of £237037, old ten. And altho’ I have not had any particular account of the amount of the outstanding Bills of the Province of *N. Hampshire*, yet according to the best Observation that I have been able to make, there has been near or quite as many of the Bills of *N. Hampsh.* as of the old emissions of *R. Island* passing in *Connecticut*. And since the *Massachusetts Bay* has stopt the currency of those Bills in that Province, I suppose that near half* of all the outstanding Bills aforesaid, (exclusive of the last emission of *R. Island*) have generally been passing in said Colony. And in the year 1750, those Bills currently pass’d at the rate of 54s. old tenor, for an ounce of Silver, but now 64s. is the least sum that a *Spanish Dollar* can be purchased for, which weighs but about 17 *peny weight & an half*,

*Some under good advantages to know, say 2 thirds.—Original note.

at which rate an ounce would cost 73s. so that the depreciation that has been since the year 1750, will amount to £176000 old tenor, (at its present value) upon the whole of what has been in the hands of the Inhabitants of said Colony, allowing them to have had but about £500,000, which is less than one half of the outstanding Bills aforesaid, (upon supposition that *N. Hampshire* has as many outstanding as *R. Island* has, exclusive of the new emission) and is not that a large Tribute! for the Inhabitants of said Colony to pay to those two Governments within about the space of two years? for which they have received no benefit. And the outstanding Bills of *Connecticut*, some of which may be in their hands, are not in a depreciating state, so what theirs depreciate in our hands, is (as to us) wholly lost: And all this loss, (besides a great deal of injustice in *private dealings* would have been avoided, if the currency of those Bills had been stopt in that Colony at the time when they were stopt in the Province aforementioned: But such evils can't always be foreseen. And there seems to be a great probability that those Bills will sink in their value for the future as fast as ever they have in time past, if not faster; and what motive can there be to induce any of said Inhabitants to be desirous of having them pass among 'em any longer (especially as a standard in trade) at the expence of *justice, credit, & interest*? For what purpose is it to have other measures just & equal, if the Money which is the common measure to estimate the value of all things is uncertain & unequal? for it is evident that such an uncertain Medium of exchange puts an advantage into the hands of people to wrong one another many ways, without danger of being call'd to an account or punished by the Civil Authority; and 'tis to be fear'd that it has been a means of insensibly rooting principles of justice out of the minds of many people, occasioning them to think that what they gain of their ne'bour by keeping him out of his just due, & then taking *advantage* of the depreciation of the bills of Credit, to pay their debts with less than was the real value of them at the time of contract, is just & honest gain. And others by receiving in their debts in such depreciated bills, are necessitated either to be great sufferers in their estates, or else to

make reprisals by taking advantage of the uncertainty of the medium of exchange to get an exorbitant price for the *wares & marchandizes* which they sell for the future to countervail their former loss. (But is suffering wrong, a sufficient excuse for doing wrong?) Besides, how many poor Orphans have been wronged out of great part of their estates by means of such an unstable medium? And who ever is the faulty cause of it, will find that they contract no small guilt. And how much so ever some may advance their present interest by the unjust methods aforesaid, & others may curry favour by conniving at such practices, yet all will be convince'd sooner or later, that *Honesty is the best Policy.*"—1753 (New London).

CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, ETC.

"Good News for *New-England.*

Containing the most particular Account that has yet come to Hand, of the Reduction of the City of *QUEBECK*, the Capital of *CANADA*, to the Obedience of his Britannic Majesty, by the Forces under the Command of Major-General *WOLFE*, covered by a Squadron of *British* Men of War, under the Command of Admiral *SAUNDERS*; as brought by Capt. *Furlong*, who arrived from *Quebeck*, Oct. 21. As also an Account of the taking and destroying 6 large French Men of War, by Admiral *BOSCAWEN*, near *Cadiz*

THAT General Wolfe finding that nothing could invite the Enemy to give him Battle, while he remained at Montmorancy, retired from thence on the 4th Day of September, and resolved to endeavour to effect a landing on the back of the Town: To make sure of this, it was absolutely necessary to surprize them; he therefore prevailed on the Admiral to send up above the Town some Transports and a large Number of Boats, all of which got safe by, notwithstanding the Enemy's constant fire upon them from all their Batteries, which were composed of above 130 Pieces of Cannon, from 6 to 42 Pounders, the latter fired red hot Shot. General Wolfe marched his Army from Point Levee to the River Echemains, and embark'd them on board the Transports on the 12th; He gave Orders

for the Army to be in Readiness to land the next Morning before Day light, under the Heights of Abraham; accordingly they landed, and immediately attack'd and routed the Enemy, taking Possession of a Battery of 4 24 Pounders, and one 13 Inch Mortar, with but an inconsiderable Loss. We then took Post on the Plains of Abraham, whither Monsieur Montcalm (on hearing that we had landed, for he did not expect us) hasted with his whole Army to give us Battle; about 9 o'Clock we observed the Enemy marching down towards us in three Columns, at 10 they form'd their Line of Battle, which was at least six deep, having their Flanks covered by a thick Wood on each Side, into which they threw above 3000 Canadians and Indians, who gaul'd us much; the Regulars then marched briskly up to us, and gave us their first Fire, at about 50 Yards Distance, which we did not return, as it was General Wolfe's express Orders not to fire till they came within 20 Yards of us— They continued firing by Platoons, advancing in a very regular Manner till they came close up to us, and then the Action became general: In about 15 Minutes the Enemy gave way on all Sides, when a terrible Slaughter ensued; we pursuing them to the Walls of the Town, regardless of an excessive heavy Fire from their Batteries, and gain'd a compleat Victory—At 4 in the Afternoon Mons. Boscawen appear'd with 1500 Foot and 200 Horse, on the great Road (that leads from Montreal to Quebec) marching towards a Post on the Plains occupied by a Body of our Light Infantry; on immediate Notice of which Brigadier-General Burton, with the 35th and 49th Regiments march'd to the Left to receive him; but he no sooner perceived our Disposition made to engage him, then he fac'd to the right about, and made a most precipitate Retreat; at 10 at Night we surprized their Guard and took Possession of their Guard Hospital, wherein we found between 12 or 1500 sick and wounded.

The Troups lying on their Arms all Night, and the 14th in the Morning we secured the Bridge of Boats they had over Charles River, and made ourselves possessed of all the Posts and Avenues that was or might be of any Consequence leading to the Town, and at Night we broke Ground at 100 Yards Distance from the Walls, when we had every Thing prepared

for erecting a Battery in order to make a Breach and Storm, but were prevented by their beating a Parly and sending out a Flag of Truce with Articles of Capitulation, and in a few Hours after we took Possession of the City, where we found 250 Pieces of Cannon, a Number of Mortars, from 9 to 15 Inches, Field Pieces, Hawtetzers, Royals, &c. with a large Quantity of Artillery Stores.

The Day after the Engagement the Enemy abandoned Beauport, leaving behind them above 80 Pieces of Cannon, and 3 Mortars, having first set Fire to all their floating Batteries, and blown up the Magazine of Powder for supplying them and the Troops that were on that Side.

The poor Remains of the French Regulars, with about 10,000 Canadians, have retired to Jaques Quartiees under the Command of Monsieur Levy; but the Canadians are deserting him in great Numbers every Day, and coming in to surrender themselves—Mons. Vaudreuil stole out of the City during the Battle and escaped—The French in the Town and about us are starving for want of Provisions, from which its reasonable to imagine the whole must shortly surrender, even at Discretion. We have sent up to Trois Riviere for 5 Frigates and 11 Sail of Transports which arrived here last Spring from France, and which the Enemy have deserted on hearing of the Surrender of the Town.

The Enemy[†] Lost in the Engagement—Lieut. General Montcalm; two Brigade Generals; one Colonel; two Lieut. Colonels; and at least 1500 Officers and Men killed and taken Prisoners; among the Prisoners are 58 Officers—On our Side was killed the brave and never to be forgotten General WOLFE; with 9 Officers, 4 Serjeants, and 44 Privates; wounded, Brigadier General Monckton; Col. Charlton, Quarter Master-General; Major Barry, Adjutant Gen. and 50 other Officers, with 26 Serjeants and 557 Rank and File—This Action is the more glorious, as the Enemy were at least 12,000 strong, besides 500 Horse; and we but about 4,500, some of whom did not engage.

Brigadier Murray is appointed Governor of the Town, and the whole Army left to Garrison it; Brigadier General Burton commands in the lower Town with the 48 Regiment and

Detachments from the several others, Brigadier Townsend is gone home in the Fleet to England, and Brigadier Monckton intends for the Continent.

Capt. Furlong informs, That the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War, and march'd out of the City accordingly, and were immediately embark'd on Board the Transports; and that such of the French Inhabitants as would come in and take the Oaths of Allegiance, were permitted to enjoy their Estates: And that Lieut. Col. Hale went home in the Leostaff with the Dispatches of this important Event.

Capt. Diamond arrived at Marblehead the 14th Inst. in 39 Days from Cadiz: and informs of the taking and destroying of 6 large French Men of War out of 7, by Admiral Boscawen, the 17th of August, near Cadiz; That our Ships took three, drove 2 on Shore, and sunk one in the Engagement: Not being able to get the 2 off, the Admiral ordered them to be burnt. The French Squadron consisted of 12 Ships of the Line and 3 Frigates: Five of those of the Line of 60 Guns each, and 3 Frigates got into Cadiz, the 17th or 18th of August; where the Shannon Frigate lay at Anchor without them to observe their Motions. When these Ships got into Cadiz, there were 21 Sail of Spanish Men of War ready to sail, only waiting for a Wind, to bring Don Carlos to ascend the Spanish Throne. It was reported in Cadiz, that the Commander of the French Ships apply'd to the Spanish Admiral to take him and the French Ships under his Convoy up the Streights: The Admiral answer'd he could not hinder his going out with him, but must assure him he could not protect him: The French Commander then thought proper to wait for a more convenient Opportunity—The Spanish Fleet sail'd about 10 Days before Capt. Diamond left Cadiz; and there was then no Appearance of any Uneasiness by the Spaniards—It was reported in Cadiz, that Admiral Boscawen could not conveniently get at M. de la Clue up the Streights, so returned to Gibraltar, and kept out his Cruizers to watch them; and as soon as the Gibraltar Frigate discern'd the French Fleet coming down the Streights, she ran immediately into Gibraltar Bay, and gave the Admiral the Signal, and went out again and dogged them that Night: in order that the Admiral might keep Sight of the French

Fleet, he kept heaving Sky-Rockets and firing signal Guns, which had a Tendency to deceive the French, they thinking it to be of their own Squadron, and shortened sail; and as the Captain of the Gibraltar found them shorten sail, he did the same; and by this Step prevented their getting too far from Admiral Boscawen, who in the Morning had got near them, and then gave Chase, and engaged as above.—The Captain further says, That Admiral Boscawen attacked the French Admiral, and disabled him in his Masts, who was obliged to drop a Stern; on which the French Admiral stood in for the Shore; and that Admiral Boscawen got on board the Newark, and pursued, and drove him on Shore; but not being able to get her off, burnt her as above.—It was uncertain where Admiral Boscawen was; but was thought was gone Home with the 3 French Men of War, leaving a proper Number to watch the French in Cadiz.”—1760 (Boston).

POETICAL EXTRACTS

1751—BOSTON

On title-page:

“THE circling Hours are roling swiftly on,
New Years succeed those that are past and gone;
Still hast’ning on to the appointed Hour
When the great JUDGE shall come with awful Pow’r,
And finally to all Men shall impart
Rewards, or Pains after their just desert:
This World by Fire will then devoured be
And Time succeeded by ETERNITY.”

From the inside, for January:

“As Time it self is ever on the Wing
So it doth still alternate Seasons bring;
What was foretold is verified we see,
That Heat and Cold still in their Seasons be.”

For February:

“THE Lakes and Ponds are now with Cold congeal’d,
And Banks of Snow o’er-spread each fruitful Field:

In *Orion's* Bands the Earth is now confin'd,
Which all the Pow'r of Man cannot unbind."

For March:

"PLEIADES Influence, join'd with SOL's warm Ray,
Break *Orion's* Bands, and melt the Ice away:
The feather'd Tribe are now upon the Wing
Unto our Coasts at the Approach of Spring."

For April:

"AT Spring's approach all Creatures Joy express;
The quicken'd Earth puts on her verdant Dress:
Now vernal Sun Beams, with alternate Show'rs
Cause Plants to rise! also give Birth to Flow'rs."

For May:

"THIS Month of *May*, seems more than all beside,
To be by the Creator beautify'd:
The Trees and Fields in all their Bloom appear,
And Birds make Musick pleasant to the Ear."

For June:

"TIME ever passes, Seasons often change,
Men's Minds on fickle Objects often range
Seeking for Happiness in earthly Things,
Which often to them Disappointment brings."

For July:

"HE that true Peace and Happiness would find
In every Scene of Life must be resign'd
Unto the Will of God in Providence,
And that with full compleat Acquiescence."

For August:

"Now many People do their Health impair
By eating Raw-Fruits, more than by noxious Air,
And by Intemperance in many Things,
Which commonly Diseases on them brings."

For September:

"THE mighty God from whom all Things proceed,
To his own Glory all Things hath decreed:
Those who refuse him Praise in active Way,
Must Victims fall; his Justice to display."

For October:

"FROM *Janus* sixth to *October* twenty-three,
Bright *Venus* she our Evening-Star will be;
But after that by *SOL* she will descend,
And be Morning-Star until the Year end."

For November:

"WHAT is our Duty while we're here below,
Is our prime Wisdom carefully to know;
And diligently to perform the same
Is what should always be our End and Aim."

For December:

"*Phæbus*, his Ingress into *Capricorn*,
Makes Winter here; but Summer at *Cape-Horn*.
In Southern Climes Things flourishing now grow,
While Here the Earth lies buried up in Snow."

1753—NEW YORK

Verse on title, as follows:

"On swiftest Wings *Time* without ceasing flies,
Whilst Days on Days and Months on Month's arise;
No Post so swiftly passes on his Way,
As fleeting *Time* moves on from Day to Day;
No Ship that Coasts the Sea with spreading Sails,
Drove by the rapid Force of pressing Gales,
Can fly so fast along the rolling Tide,
As swift wing'd *Time* does thro' the Seasons glide;
No Angry Threats can check his forward Way,
Nor Golden Bribes entice a Moment's Stay."

1755—BOSTON

Verse on title-page:

"He whose cheap Thirst, the Springs and Brooks can quench,
 And temp'rate is in what does Life preserve,
 How many Cares is he exempted from?
 He's not indebted to the Merchants Toil;
 And from his Table here, no painful Surfeits,
 No fed Diseases grow, to strangle Nature,
 And suffocate the active Brain, no Fevers,
 No Apoplexies, Palsies or Catarrhs
 Are here, Nature, not sway'd by luscious Taste
 Takes in no more than she can govern well,
 Ever preserving pure and chearful Health."

At the end of 1755 (Boston):

A POEM on Drunkenness.

DRUNKENNESS avoid, whose vile Incontinence,
 Takes both away the Reason and the Sense:
 Till with *Circæan* Cups thy Mind's possest,
 Leaves to be Man, and wholly turns a Beast.
 Think while thou swallow'st the capacious Bowl,
 Thou lett'st in Floods to wreck and drown thy Soul:
 That Hell is open, to Remembrance call,
 And think how subject Drunkards are to fall.
 Consider how it soon destroys the Grace
 Of human Shape, spoiling the beauteous Face:
 Passing the Cheeks, blaring the curious Eye,
 Studding the Face with vicious Heraldry.
 How does it nurse Disease, infect the Heart,
 Drawing some Sickness into ev'ry Part?
 The Stomach overloy'd, wanting a Vent,
 Doth up again resend her Excrement.
 And then, O see what too much Wine can do,
 The very Soul being drunk, spues Secrets too!
 The Lungs corrupted, breathe contagious Air,
 Belching up Fumes that unconcocted are.

The Brain o'er warm'd, losing her sweet Repose,
 Doth purge her filthy Ordure through the Nose;
 The Veins do boil, glutted with vicious Food.
 And quickly severs the distemper'd Blood.
 The Belly swells, the Foot can hardly stand,
 Lam'd with the Gout; the Palsy shakes the Hand;
 And through the Flesh sick Waters sinking in,
 Do, Bladder like, puft up the dropsy'd Skin.
 It weaks the Brain, it spoils the Memory,
 Hasting on Age, and wilful Poverty.
 'Tis virtue's Poison, and the Bane of Trust,
 The Match of Wrath, the Fuel unto Lust.
 It drowns thy better Parts, making thy Name
 To Foes a Laughter, to thy Friends a Shame;
 And if thou dost not from this Vice refrain
 'Twill prove thy Ruin and eternal Bane.

1760—BOSTON

From the title-page:

BRAVE AMHERST, WOLFE & SAUNDERS, all advance,
 With dauntless Courage and collected Might;
 'To turn the War, and tell *Aggressing* France,
 How *Britain's* and *New-England's* Sons can Fight.
 On Conquest fix'd, behold them rushing on
 Thrô Woods, o'er Lakes, to meet the Gallic Hosts.
 At their Approach the French and Indians run,
 And seiz'd with Terror quit their destin'd Posts.
 Their strongest Forts yield to these Sons of Thunder
 Who take their Towns, and their rich Treasures plunder.

Under January:

JOHNSON went forth with his fierce Indian Bands,
 To fight the French on distant Western Lands:
 These join'd with English Troops, lying in wait,
 Made *French* and *Indians* flee, with Slaughter great!
 The French dismay'd on hearing this Report,
 Yield to the English, *Niagara* Fort.—

Under February:

LYMAN our Gen'ral brave, inspir'd with Zeal,
 To save his Country and promote its Weal;
 With Mind engag'd for War, enters the Field,
 Leads forth our valiant Troops, disdains to yield
 Until they conquer the aggressing Foe,
 And give NEW-FRANCE a total Overthrow.

Under March:

GEORGE our most gracious King, both Great and Good,
 His Fleets and Armies sends a-cross the Floods—
 To guard his Subjects in these distant Lands,
 And save us from the En'my's barb'rous Hands.
 GOD Prosper Britain's Forces, join'd with our's,
 Quite to subdue the haughty Gallic Pow'rs.

Under April:

MAY Britain's Sons, with Prussian Pow'rs alli'd
 Conquer the French, humble the Sons of Pride
 Who are against the Prot'stant Cause combin'd;
 A Scourge of Nations, Murd'ers of Mankind:
 May universal Peace this Year obtain,
 Fix'd on a Basis that shall long remain.

May, June and December have selections from Prior.

Under July:

THE famous ROGERS, and a PUTNAM brave,
 In Praise for valiant Deeds, a Share must have;
 Who bold and Lion-like the *French* explore,
 And often fight them on the Lakes and Shore:
 Their daring Enterprizes spread their Fame,
 And make the En'my dread their very Name.

Under August:

THAT now our Nation by kind Heav'n blest,
 Enjoys rich Favours, ought to be confess'd;
 Favours more great and num'rous, than are giv'n
 To any other Nation, under Heav'n:

A wise and gracious KING, the best of LAWS,
JUDGES and STATESMEN, faithful to its Cause.

Under September:

MOST brave Commanders both by Land and Sea,
Most valiant Soldiers, crown'd with Victory;
Good *Air*, rich *Soil*, much *Wealth*, extensive Trade,
By pure Religion, yet more happy made:
All these and more with Freedom we enjoy,
To praise the GIVER then; be our Employ.

Under October:

THE great Sir WILLIAM PIT'S Administration
Makes Things go well in th' English Nation.
His Schemes well laid, and executed, raise
The Enemy's Terror and his Country's Praise;
Patron of Virtue, Flatt'ry he disdains;
Merit alone, by him Preferment gains.

From November:

SO long intent on War, my *Muse* is tir'd,
O were these gloomy, evil Days expir'd,
It is most shocking to my thoughtful Mind,
That Men so barb'rously destroy their Kind,
May we e'er long those peaceful Days behold
Which are in ancient Prophecy foretold.

1761—BOSTON

"How shall my Muse in proper Lines express
Our Northern Armies Valour and Success?
While I am writing, comes the joyful News,
Which cheers my Heart; a-new inspires my Muse.
Our three brave Armies at *Montreal* meet,
A Conquest of *New-France*, they there compleat.
To GOD, we owe the Triumphs of the Day;
NEW-FRANCE submits to GEORGE's gentle Sway!
May LEWIS, that proud Tyrant, never more
Bear any Rule upon the Northern Shoar."

EATING FROM ROGER SEEDMAN'S ADMIRANCE

The arrangement is significant and the sayings are repeated liberally

Against Illnesses Temperance.

Will ever be the best Medicine.—1751. New Haven.

All Men desire Happiness but few take proper means to obtain it.—1753. New London.

All men desire happiness but the only true pleasure is to obtain it.—1753. New York.

All seek Happiness: but many take wrong Courses to obtain it.—1749. Boston.

Are Obsequies cheap? they are supposed to be.

But if with rage attended: they're common to.—1753. Boston.

As will while fortune turns the wheel.

That life's a loss by mankind's fool.

All venture, few confess their gain.

For rich and poor alike compaign.—1750. New York.

Kiss and grudge

Have made men mis-judge.—1753. New York.

The bones which do support our earthly tower

In number are four hundred eighty four.—1750. New York.

Contention and Strife are now very rife.—1751. Boston.

Count all the bliss that prosperous vice obtains

'Tis what but virtue flies from and disdains.—1753. New York.

The Dykes are fill'd. and with a roaring Sound

the rising Rivers float the nether Ground.—1761. Boston.

An easy credulity argues want of wisdom.—1756. New Haven.

Evenings pleasant and fair

for Ladies to take the Air.—1751 (Sept. 19-20), Boston.

Every Free man shou'd

Aim at the publick Good.—1753, New London.

Every free-man shou'd

Promote the publick good.—1753, New York.

Evil men occasion evil times.—1756, New Haven.

A faithful man in public is a Pillar in a Nation.—1751, Boston.

The Farmer casts his Grain
Into the Furrow'd Plain.—1754, New London; also 1754,
New York.

The Farmer having gather'd in his Store
His weary Toils & anxious Cares are o'er.—1761 (November),
Boston.

The Farmer to full Bowls, invites his Friends;
& what he got with Pains with Pleas[ure] spends.—1761 (December), Boston.

The Fields look gay
this Month of May.—1750, Boston.

The first step to knowledge is to be sensible of our own
ignorance.—1750, New York.

Flattering Parasites are dangerous Persons.—1756, New Haven.

Fleecy Snow now cloathes the Wood,
and Cakes of Ice rowl down the Flood.—1761 (February),
Boston.

The Flowers in all their Gaiety appear
and Peace and Plenty Crown the current Year.—1761, Boston.

For that in us all things may vain appear
We have a Vain for every Day i' the Year.—1750, New York.

Fortune always did approve;
A present Wit,
In War or Love.—1755, Boston.

A General sets his Army in Array
In vain; unless he fights, and wins the Day.—1756, New Haven.

God in the Nature of each Being founds,
its proper Bliss & sets it proper Bounds.—1750, Boston.

The gods are slow but sure paymasters.—1750, New York.
Gold raises Armies in a Nation's Aid,
but bribes a Senate and the Land's betray'd.—1760, Boston.

A good jack makes
A good gill.—1750, New York.

Good Laws well executed, are the Bulwarks of Liberty and Property.—1756, New Haven.

The grass is green the flowers appear,
And Philomela charms the ear.—1754 (May 15-18), New York.

He that from Guilt is clear,
No Danger need to fear.—1756, New Haven.

He that in virtues way is pleas'd to run
Shall wear a crown when time itself is done.—1750, New York.

He that may hinder Mischief, and yet permits it; is an Accessary.—1755, Boston.

He that reaps the Profit, ought to bear the Burden.—1755, Boston.

He that sows in craft, reaps in jealousy.—1756, New Haven.

He that would be happy, must be Virtuous.—1760, Boston.

He that would not be slandered himself must be careful not to slander others.—1750, New York.

He who by good Actions deserves well, needs not another's praise.—1756, New Haven.

He who loves truth for its own sake, will not assent to any proposition farther than there's evidence to support it.—1753, New London.

He who to love aspires,
can't limit his desires.—1756, New Haven.

The Health and Welfare of the People is the chiefest Law.—1755, Boston.

Honour and Shame from no Condition rise:
Act well your Part, there all the Honour lies.—1750, Boston.

Honour of Blood without Ornament of Knowledge, is but a glorious Ignorance.—1758, New Haven.

How happy is All understood
That none are safe unless They're good.—1758, New Haven.

I boast no wonders, neither beg your Praise
Two things much us'd by many in these days
No, read and censure as you please my book.
Like or dislike the care's already took.—1750, New York.

If Virtue in a Court itself advance;
Vice there will soon grow out of countenance.—1755, Boston.

Ignorance of the Law doth not excuse one.—1755, Boston.

Improve your Season while you may,
to gather in your Grain & Hay;
for soon there'll be a rainy Day.—1761 (July), Boston.

In ev'ry Breast there glows an active Flame,
the Love of Glory and the dread of Shame.—1760, Boston.

In every trade we may cobblers see,
Their numbers rise to such a degree
We should want time, nay ale and wealth,
To drink each cobbling brothers health.—1750, New York.

In genial Winter, Swains enjoy their Store,
forget their Hardships, and recruit for more.—1761, Boston.

Innocence unmov'd at a false Accusation, doth the more
confirm itself; and Guilt is discovered by its own Fears.—1755,
Boston.

Intestine Jars, are worse than foreign Wars.—1756, New
Haven.

It must needs be true which all men say
Better have money to receive than pay.—1750, New York.

The Law compelleth no Man to impossibilities.—1755, Boston.

Learn when to speak and when to silent see
Fools often speak and show their want of wit.—1750, New York.

Let Reason judge which of these two is worse
Want with a full or with an empty Purse.—1750, Boston.

Liberty and Property are dear to English men.—1750, New
York; also 1754, New London.

Look for ruin when a coward wins;
for fear and cruelty were ever twins.—1756, New Haven.

Look round our World, behold the Chain of Love,
combining all below & all above,
Here then we rest: The universal Cause,
sets to one End, but acts by various Laws.—175 , Boston.

Love, Hope, & Joy, fair Pleasure's smiling Train;
Hate, Fear, &, Grief the Family of Pain.—1750, Boston.

Love to our citadel resorts
thro' those deceitful sally-ports,
Our centinels betray our forts.—1756, New Haven.

Mankind upon each other's Ruins rise,
Cowards maintain the Brave, and Fools the Wise.—1758,
New Haven.

Men are slow to believe what dont suit their interest.—1753,
New York.

A miser who loves money more than himself will certainly
rate it above honesty.—1754, New York; also 1754, New London.

Moisture and pearly Rains
do now refresh the thirsty Plains.—1761 (August), Boston.

The Nations seem inclin'd to Peace,
and Wars and Fightings soon will cease.—1761, Boston.

Nature in her gay Attire,
Doth many pleasing Tho'ts inspire.—1758, New Haven.

Necessity hath no Law.—1755, Boston.

None more subject to mischance,
than those whom fortune doth advance.—1758, New Haven.

None pities him that's in the Snare;
And warn'd before, Would not beware.—1755, Boston.

Now *April* showers,
Impregnate the Flowers.—1756 (April), New Haven.

Now expect a good Season for making Hay,
which improve while you may.—1751 (June 19 to 22), Boston.

Now expect to hear good News from far.—1750 (May 6-7),
Boston.

Of Seasons we predict by Nature's Laws,
but these are over—ru'd by God, the great First Cause.—1751,
Boston.

Oft private Faith and public Trust are sold,
and Traitors barter Liberty for Gold.—1760, Boston.

Peace-makers find

Content of Mind.—1756, New Haven.

The People's Crimes,

Cause evil Times.—1758, New Haven.

Perhaps some memorable Battle will be fought about this time.—1756 (May 20-24), New Haven.

Physicians easily can tell,

Advice to others, when themselves are well.—1758, New Haven.

Plain down right Honesty, is the Beauty and Elegancy of Life.—1755, Boston.

A Poem's Life and Death, dependeth still:

Not on the Poet's Wit, but Reader's Will.—1755, Boston.

A poor Spirit's worse

Than a poor purse.—1755, Boston.

The Powers above

do Mercy love.—1758, New Haven.

Pride and Excess are growing Evils.—1758, New Haven.

Profaness Intemperance & Injustice presage Calamitous Times.—1753, New London.

The Promises of Princes and Courts should not be by after Arts evaded,

For who dares punish the breach of Oaths in Subjects, and yet slight the Faith he has made them.—1755, Boston.

A prudent temperate Abstinence

against Diseases is the best Defence.—1758, New Haven.

Publick good is to be preferred before private Interest.—1755, Boston.

Reason & passion answer one great Aim,

And true self love & social are the same.—1753, New London; also 1753, New York.

Reason's whole Pleasure, all the Joys of Sense,

lie in three Words,—Health, Peace and Competence.—1750, Boston.

Self Interest will turn some mens opinions as certainly as the wind will a weather cock.—1753, New London.

Senates and Judges have been bought for Gold:

Esteem & Love were never to be sold.—1750, Boston.

Silence is a decent cover to a want of sense.—1750, New York.

So weak is our judgment & frail is our sight

That we cannot level our own wishes right.

And if sometimes we make a wise advance

T'ourselves we little owe, but much to chance.—1750, New York.

Soft Whispers run along the leafy Woods,

and Mountains echo to the murm'ring Floods.—1761, Boston.

Some Men study more how to seem judicious than to be so.—
1755, Boston.

Some waste their precious time in gaming.

Others in trifles not worth naming.—1754, New York.

Study to know thyself, meddle not with other Men's matters.
—1760, Boston.

The tender Vines and Flow'rs:

The cruel Frost devours.—1761, Boston.

That which in the beginning is vicious, cannot by tract of
Time be made good.—1755, Boston.

Those that profanely Swear & Curse, at best they are but
scandalous.—1751, Boston.

Those who in slander delight,

discover both folly and spite.—1756, New Haven.

Those who stir up sedition among the People, are the worst
enemies of the state.—1756, New Haven.

Though good things answer many good intents;

Yet Crosses do bring forth the best Events—1755, Boston.

A timely Reformation,

{ Wo'd save our Land & Nation.—1758, New Haven.

The Times wherein we live are very bad:

Let's every one mend our Ways, and we shall soon see
better Days.—1751, Boston.

'Tis Bias or Grudge makes some Men misjudge.—1753,
New London.

'tis greater honour to confess a fault than to defend it.—
1754, New York.

Tis greater Honour to Retract an error, than to Defend it.—
1754, New London.

'Tis Heav'n each Passion sends; which different Men directs
to different ends.—1760, Boston.

'Tis in Life as 'tis in Painting
much may be right yet much is wanting.—1758, New Haven.

'Tis strange the Miser should his Cares employ,
to gain those Riches that he wont enjoy.—1760, Boston.

'Tis Virtue only make[s] our Bliss below,
& our chief Knowledge is Ourselves to know.—1750, Boston.

To be easy all Night,
Let your Supper be light.—1750, Boston.

To brand a doubtful Folly with a Smile,
Or madly blaze unknown Defects is vile.—1760, Boston.

To save a soul, our men of modern sense,
Grudge Peter, for his guidance, a few pence,
A finger akes (so clear their light within is)
They all allow the doctor's claim to guineas.—1750, New York.

To whom can Riches give Repute or Trust,
Content or Pleasure, but the Good and Just.—1750, Boston.

True Charity, tho' never so secret, finds a just reward.—1755,
Boston.

True Peace of Mind
the virtuous find.—1760, Boston.

'Twas not allow'd to *Jove*, to hold at once, his Reason
and his Love.—1755, Boston.

The Tyranny of OLD TENOR, that mystery of Iniquity,
source of Injustice, & disturber of the Peace is now Expiring;
to the Joy of all Honest Men.—1754, New London.

Unheedful Vows may heedfully be broken.—1755, Boston.

The various Harmony in the Works of Nature:
Manifest the Wisdom of the Creator.—1751, Boston.

The Weather now is freezing cold,
uncomfortable for young or old
but I can't tell how long 'twill hold.—1750 (December, 19 to
24), Boston.

What suits mens Wishes is forwardly believed.—1753, New
London.

While young people are gathering flowers and nose gays,
Let them beware of the snake in the grass.—1750, New York.

Whoe'r to play the coxcombs part by niggard nature's ariven,
May pardon find; but fools by art can never be forgiven.—1750,
New York.

Whoso assents to any proposition farther than there is
evidence to support it does not love truth for its own sake.—
1753, New York.

Why should Men
be Tyrants then?—1758, New Haven.

The Winds are high
as well as dry.—1751 (August 30-31), Boston.

Wisdom and knowledge are preferable to gold and silver.—
1754, New York; also 1754, New London.

Wise men wonder good men grieve
Knives invent and fools believe.—1750, New York.

With liberal Hand and choicest Grain,
the Farmer sows the furrow'd Plain.—1761, Boston.

the World subsists by elemental strife,
and Passions are, the element of Life.—1760. Boston.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THE FIRST BALLOONS.

BY ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH.

The recent bi-centenary of Franklin's birth, which coincided with the revival of interest in balloons, makes this a timely topic, especially since Franklin's descriptions of the first balloon ascensions are almost unknown and do not appear among his philosophical papers. The five letters which I have the honor to present were written to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society of London, in 1783, when Franklin was Minister to the Court of France and, with the collateral documents, they give perhaps the most complete and accurate account of the beginning of aerial navigation, enlivened with the humor and speculation characteristic of the writer. It is certainly remarkable that Franklin, in the midst of diplomatic and social duties, could have found time to investigate personally this new invention of which he at once appreciated the possibilities.

The documents which I publish are copies of Franklin's letters, made on thin paper in a copying press (probably the rotary machine invented by Franklin), and all but one bear his signature in ink. They have corrections in the author's hand-writing and, except for a few words, are quite legible. They were purchased by me from Dodd, Mead & Co., in December, 1905, and previously had belonged to G. M. Williamson, of Grandview-on-the-Hudson, to whom they had come from Vienna. None of the letters appear in Sparks' edition of Franklin's Works, and while all but one are included in the collections compiled by Bigelow and Smyth, there are numerous inaccuracies, some of which will be specified hereafter. Drafts of three of the

letters are deposited in the University of Pennsylvania, but the existence of one letter and the whereabouts of another were unknown to the late Mr. Smyth, the editor of the last and most complete edition of Franklin's Works,¹ who made careful search for the original documents. Although the American owners of these copies did not allow them to be transcribed, Mr. Smyth states that he printed one letter from my copy, and he noted how the other copies differed from the drafts in the University of Pennsylvania. In general it may be said that, whereas Bigelow gives the text without paragraphs, capital letters or the old spelling,² Smyth follows the originals more closely. In view of the historic and scientific interest of these letters, they are now printed exactly according to the press-copies. The letter dated November 30, appears never to have been printed and whereas Smyth reproduced the letter of November 21 from the University of Pennsylvania draft, this or another draft (or possibly this copy) was in the possession of the French aeronaut, Gaston Tissandier, about 1887.³

(THE FIRST HYDROGEN BALLOON.)

PASSY, Aug. 30, 1783.

SIR,

On Wednesday, the 27th Instant the new aerostatic Experiment, invented by Mess^{rs}. Montgolfier, of Annonay, was repeated by M. Charles, Professor of experimental Philosophy at Paris.

A hollow Globe 12 feet Diameter was formed of what is called in England Oiled Silk, here *Taffetas gommé*, the Silk being impregnated with a Solution of Gum elastic in Lintseed Oil, as is said. The Parts were sewed together while wet with the Gum, and some of it was afterwards passed over the Seams, to render it as tight as possible.

It was afterwards filled with the inflammable Air that is produced by pouring Oil of Vitriol upon Filings of Iron, when it was found to have a tendency upwards so strong as to

¹ The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, collected and edited by Albert Henry Smyth, Volume IX, New York, 1906.

² Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin, compiled and edited by John Bigelow, Volume VIII, New York, 1888.

³ Histoire des Ballons, Paris, 1887, Volume I, page 29.

be capable of lifting a Weight of 39 Pounds, exclusive of its own Weight which was 25 lbs. and the Weight of the Air contain'd.

It was brought early in the morning to the *Champ de Mars*, a Field in which Reviews are sometimes made, lying between the Military School and the River. There it was held down by a Cord till 5 in the afternoon, when it was to be let loose. Care was taken before the Hour to replace what Portion had been lost, of the inflammable Air, or of its Force, by injecting more.

It is supposed that not less than 50,000 People were assembled to see the Experiment. The *Champ de Mars* being surrounded by Multitudes, and vast Numbers on the opposite Side of the River.

At 5 aClock Notice was given to the Spectators by the Firing of two Cannon, that the Cord was about to be cut. And presently the Globe was seen to rise, and that as fast as a Body of 12 feet Diameter, with a force only of 39 Pounds, could be suppos'd to move the resisting Air out of its Way. There was some Wind, but not very strong. A little Rain had wet it, so that it shone, and made an agreeable Appearance. It diminished in Apparent Magnitude as it rose, till it enter'd the Clouds, when it seem'd to me scarce bigger than an Orange, and soon after became invisible, the Clouds concealing it.

The Multitude separated, all well satisfied and delighted with the Success of the Experiment, and amusing one another with discourses of the various uses it may possibly be apply'd to, among which many were very extravagant. But possibly it may pave the Way to some Discoveries in Natural Philosophy of which at present we have no Conception.

A Note secur'd from the Weather had been affix'd to the Globe, signifying the Time & Place of its Departure, and praying those who might happen to find it, to send an account of its State to certain Persons at Paris. No News was heard of it till the next Day, when Information was receiv'd, that it fell a little after 6 aClock, at Gonesse, a Place about 4 Leagues Distance, and that it was rent open, and some say had Ice in it. It is suppos'd to have burst by the Elasticity of the contain'd Air when no longer compress'd by so heavy an Atmosphere.

One of 38 feet Diameter is preparing by M^r. Montgolfier himself, at the Expence of the Academy, which is to go up in a few Days. I am told it is constructed of Linen & Paper, and is to be filled with a different Air, not yet made Public, but cheaper than that produc'd by the Oil of Vitriol, of which 200 Paris Pints were consum'd in filling the other.

It is said that for some Days after its being filled, the Ball was found to lose an eighth Part of its Force of Levity in 24 Hours; Whether this was from Imperfection in the Tightness of the Ball, or a Change in the Nature of the Air, Experiments may easily discover.

I thought it my Duty, Sir, to send an early Account of this extraordinary Fact, to the Society which does me the honour to reckon me among its Members; and I will endeavour to make it more perfect, as I receive farther Information.

With great Respect, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, Bar^t.

P. S. Since writing the above, I am favour'd with your kind Letter of the 25th. I am much obliged to you for the Care you have taken to forward the Transactions, as well as to the Council for so readily ordering them on Application. Please to accept and present my Thanks.

I just now learn, that some observers say, the Ball was 150 Seconds in rising, from the Cutting of the Cord till hid in the Clouds; that its height was then about 500 Toises, but, being moved out of the Perpendicular by the Wind, it had made a Slant so as to form a Triangle, whose Base on the Earth was about 200 Toises. It is said the Country People who saw it fall were frightned, conceiv'd from its bounding a little, when it touched the Ground, that there was some living Animal in it, and attack'd it with Stones and Knives, so that it was much mangled; but it is now brought to Town and will be repaired.

The great one of M. Montgolfier, is to go up, as is said, from Versailles, in about 8 or 10 Days; It is not a Globe but of a different Form, more convenient for penetrating the Air. It contains 50,000 cubic Feet, and is supposed to have Force of Levity equal to 1500 pounds weight. A Philosopher here, M. Pilatre du Rozier has seriously

apply'd to the Academy for leave to go up with it, in order to make some Experiments. He was complimented on his Zeal and Courage for the Promotion of Science, but advis'd to wait till the management of these Balls was made by Experience more certain & safe. They say the filling of it in M. Montgolfier's Way will not cost more than half a Crown. One is talk'd of to be 110 feet Diameter. Several Gentlemen have ordered small ones to be made for their Amusement. One has ordered four of 15 feet Diameter each; I know not with what Purpose; But such is the present Enthusiasm for promoting and improving this Discovery, that probably we shall soon make considerable Progress in the art of constructing and using the Machines.

Among the Pleasantries Conversation produces on this Subject, some suppose Flying to be now invented, and that since Men may be supported in the Air, nothing is wanted but some light handy Instruments to give and direct Motion. Some think Progressive Motion on the Earth may be advanc'd by it, and that a Running Footman or a Horse slung and suspended under such a Globe so as to have no more of Weight pressing the Earth with their Feet, than Perhaps 8 or 10 Pounds, might with a fair Wind run in a straight Line across Countries as fast as that Wind, and over Hedges, Ditches & even Waters. It has been even fancied that in time People will keep such Globes anchored in the Air, to which by Pullies they may draw up Game to be preserved in the Cool & Water to be frozen when Ice is wanted. And that to get Money, it will be contrived to give People an extensive View of the Country, by running them up in an Elbow Chair a Mile high for a Guinea &c. &c.

B. F.

(A HOT AIR BALLOON CARRYING ANIMALS.)

PASSY, Oct. 8, 1783.

SIR

The Publick were promised a printed particular Account of the Rise & Progress of the Balloon Invention, to be published about the End of last month. I waited for it to send it to you, expecting it would be more satisfactory than anything I could write; but it does not appear. We

have only at present the enclosed Pamphlet, which does not answer the expectation given us. I send you with it some prints. That of the Balloon raised at Versailles is said to be an exact representation. I was not present, but am told it was filled in about ten minutes by means of burning Straw. Some say water was thrown into the flame, others that it was Spirits of Sal Volatile. It was supposed to have risen about 200 Toises: But did not continue long at that height, was carried horizontally by the Wind, and descended gently as the Air within grew cooler. So vast a Bulk when it began to rise so majestically in the Air struck the spectators with surprise and Admiration. The Basket contained a sheep, a duck, and a Cock, who, except the Cock, received no hurt by the fall.

The Duke de Crillon made a feast last week in the Bois de Boulogne, just by my habitation, on occasion of the Birth of two Spanish Princes; after the Fireworks we had a Balloon of about 5 feet Diameter filled with permanent inflammable Air. It was dismissed about One aClock in the Morning. It carried under it a large Lanthorn with inscriptions on its sides. The Night was quite calm and clear, so that it went right up. The appearance of the light diminished gradually till it appeared no bigger than one of the Stars, and in about twenty minutes I lost sight of it entirely. It fell the next Day on the other side of the same Wood near the Village Boulogne, about half after twelve, having been suspended in the Air eleven hours and a half. It lodged in a tree, and was torn in getting it down; so that it cannot be ascertained whether it burst when above, or not, tho' that is supposed. Smaller Repetitions of the Experiment are making every day in all quarters. Some of the larger Balloons that have been up are preparing to be sent up again in a few Days; but I do not hear of any material improvements yet made either in the mechanical or Chemical parts of the Operation. Most is expected from the new one undertaken upon subscription by Messieurs Charles and Robert, who are Men of Science and mechanic Dexterity. It is to carry up a Man. I send you enclosed the Proposals, which it is said are already subscribed to by a considerable number and likely to be carried into execution. If I am well at the

Time, I purpose to be present, being a subscriber myself, and shall send you an exact Account of Particulars.

With great esteem and respect, for yourself and the Society;
I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient

& most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, Bar^t.

(THE FIRST AERIAL VOYAGE BY MAN.)

PASSY, Nov^r 21st, 1783

DEAR SIR,

I received your friendly Letter of the 7th Inst. I am glad my Letters respecting the Aerostatic Experiment were not unacceptable. But as more perfect Accounts of the Construction and Management of that Machine have been and will be published before your Transactions, and from which Extracts may be made that will be more particular and therefore more satisfactory, I think it best not to print those Letters. I say this in answer to your Question; for I did not indeed write them with a view of their being inserted. M^r. Faujas de St. Fond acquainted me yesterday that a Book on the Subject which has been long expected, will be publish'd in a few Days, and I shall send you one of them. Enclosed is a Copy of the *Procès verbal* taken of the Experiment made yesterday in the Garden of the Queen's Palace la Muette where the Dauphin now resides which being near my House I was present. This Paper was drawn up hastily, and may in some Places appear to you obscure; therefore I shall add a few explanatory Observations.

This Balloon was larger than that which went up from Versailles and carried the Sheep, &c. Its bottom was open, and in the middle of the Opening was fixed a kind of Basket Grate in which Faggots and Sheaves of Straw were burnt. The Air rarified in passing thro' this Flame rose in the Balloon, swell'd out its sides, and fill'd it.

The Persons who were plac'd in the Gallery made of Wicker, and attached to the Outside near the Bottom, had each of them a Port thro' which they could pass Sheaves of Straw into the Grate to keep up the Flame, & thereby

keep the Balloon full. When it went over our Heads, we could see the Fire which was very considerable. As the Flame slackens, the rarified Air cools and condenses, the Bulk of the Balloon diminishes and it begins to descend. If those in the Gallery see it likely to descend in an improper Place, they can by throwing on more Straw, & renewing the Flame, make it rise again, and the Wind carries it farther.

La Machine poussée par le Vent s'est dirigée sur une des Allées du Jardin. That is against the Trees of one of the Walks. The Gallery hitched among the top Boughs of those Trees which had been cut and were stiff while the Body of the Balloon lean'd beyond and seemed likely to overset. I was then in great Pain for the Men, thinking them in danger of being thrown out, or burnt for I expected that the Balloon being no longer upright the Flame would have laid hold of the inside that leaned over it. But by means of some Cords that were still attach'd to it, it was soon brought upright again, made to descend, & carried back to its place. It was however much damaged.

Planant sur l'Horizon. When they were as high as they chose to be, they made less Flame and suffered the Machine to drive Horizontally with the Wind, of which however they felt very little, as they went with it, and as fast. They say they had a charming View of Paris & its Environs, the Course of the River, &c but that they were once lost, not knowing what Part they were over, till they saw the Dome of the Invalids, which rectified their Ideas. Probably while they were employed in keeping up the Fire, the Machine might turn, and by that means they were *desorientés* as the French call it.

There was a vast Concourse of Gentry in the Garden, who had great Pleasure in seeing the Adventurers go off so chearfully, & applauded them by clapping &c. but there was at the same time a good deal of Anxiety for their Safety. Multitudes in Paris saw the Balloon passing; but did not know there were Men with it, it being then so high that they could not see them.

Developpant du Gaz. That is, in plain English, *burning more straw*; for tho' there is a little Mystery made, concerning the kind of Air with which the Balloon is filled, I conceive it to be nothing more than hot Smoke or common Air rarify'd, tho' in this I may be mistaken.

Aiant encor dans leur Galerie le deux tiers de leur Approvisionnement. That is their Provision of Straw; of which they carried up a great Quantity. It was well that in the hurry of so hazardous an Experiment, the Flame did not happen by any accidental Mismanagement to lay hold of this Straw; tho' each had a Bucket of Water by him, by Way of Precaution.

One of these courageous Philosophers, the Marquis d'Arlandes, did me the honour to call upon me in the Evening after the Experiment, with Mr. Montgolfier the very ingenious Inventor. I was happy to see him safe. He informed me that they lit gently without the least Shock, and the Balloon was very little damaged.

This Method of filling the Balloon with hot Air is cheap and expeditious, and it is supposed may be sufficient for certain purposes, such as elevating an Engineer to take a View of an Enemy's Army, Works, &c. conveying Intelligence into, or out of a besieged Town, giving Signals to distant Places, or the like.

The other Method of filling a Balloon with permanently elastic inflammable Air, and then closing it is a tedious Operation, and very expensive; Yet we are to have one of that kind sent up in a few Days. It is a Globe of 26 feet diameter. The Gores that compose it are red and white Silk, so that it makes a beautiful appearance. A very handsome triumphal Car will be suspended to it, in which Mess^{rs}. Robert two Brothers, very ingenious Men, who have made it in concert with M^r. Charles propose to go up. There is room in this Car for a little Table to be placed between them, on which they can write and keep their Journal, that is take Notes of every thing they observe, the State of their Thermometer, Barometer, Hygrometer, &c which they will have more Leisure to do than the others, having no fire to take Care of. They say they have a contrivance which will enable them to descend at Pleasure. I know not what it is. But the Expence of this Machine, Filling included, will exceed, it is said, 10,000 Livres.

This Balloon of only 26 feet diameter being filled with Air ten times lighter than common Air, will carry up a greater Weight than the other, which tho' vastly bigger was filled with an Air that could scarcely be more than

twice as light. Thus the great Bulk of one of these Machines, with the short duration of its Power, & the great Expende of filling the other will prevent the Inventions being of so much Use, as some may expect, till Chemistry can invent a cheaper light Air producible with more Expedition.

But the Emulation between the two Parties running high, the Improvement in the Construction and Management of the Balloons has already made a rapid Progress; and one cannot say how far it may go. A few Months since the Idea of Witches riding thro' the Air upon a Broomstick, and that of Philosophers upon a Bag of Smoke, would have appeared equally impossible and ridiculous.

These Machines must always be subject to be driven by the Winds. Perhaps Mechanic Art may find easy means to give them progressive Motion in a Calm, and to slant them a little in the Wind.

I am sorry this Experiment is totally neglected in England where mechanic Genius is so strong. I wish I could see the same Emulation between the two Nations as I see between the two Parties here. Your Philosophy seems to be too bashful. In this Country we are not so much afraid of being laught at. If we do a foolish thing, we are the first to laugh at it ourselves, and are almost as much pleased with a *Bon Mot* or a good *Chanson*, that ridicules well the Disappointment of a Project, as we might have been with its Success. It does not seem to me a good reason to decline prosecuting a new Experiment which apparently increases the Power of Man over Matter, till we can see to what Use that Power may be applied. When we have learnt to manage it, we may hope some time or other to find Uses for it, as Men have done for Magnetism and Electricity of which the first Experiments were mere Matters of Amusement.

This Experience is by no means a trifling one. It may be attended with important Consequences that no one can foresee. We should not suffer Pride to prevent our progress in Science. Beings of a Rank and Nature far superior to ours have not disdained to amuse themselves with making and launching Balloons, otherwise we should never have enjoyed the Light of those glorious objects that rule our Day & Night,

nor have had the Pleasure of riding round the Sun ourselves upon the Balloon we now inhabit.

With great and sincere Esteem, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t

& most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN

Sir JOSEPH BANKS.

(POSTPONEMENT OF CHARLES' AND ROBERT'S
ASCENSION.)

PASSY, Nov. 30, 1783

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the honour of writing to you the Beginning of last Week, and I sent you by the Courier, M. Faujas's Book upon the Balloons, which I hope you have receiv'd. I did hope to have given you to day an Account of Mr. Charles's grand Balloon, which was to have gone up yesterday; but the filling it with inflammable Air having taken more time than had been calculated, it is deferr'd till to-morrow. I send you herewith a Paper in which you will see what was proposed by Mess^{rs} Robert who constructed the Machine; and some other Papers relative to the same Subject, the last of which is curious, as containing the Journal of the first Aerial Voyage performed by Man.—I purpose being present to-morrow at the Experiment, and shall give you an Acc^t of it by the Wednesday's Post. With sincere & great Esteem, I have the honour to be,

Sir, Your most obed^t humble Serv^t

B. FRANKLIN

Sir JOS. BANKS, Bar^t.

(THE SECOND AERIAL VOYAGE BY MAN.)

PASSY, Dec. 1, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

In mine of yesterday, I promis'd to give you an Account of Mess^{rs}. Charles & Robert's Experiment, which was to have been made at this Day, and at which I intended to be present. Being a little indispos'd, & the Air cool, and the Ground damp, I declin'd going into the Garden of Tuilleries where the Balloon was plac'd, not knowing I

long I might be oblig'd to wait there before it was ready to depart; and chose to stay in my Carriage near the Statue of Louis XV. from whence I could well see it rise, & have an extensive View of the Region of Air thro' which, as the Wind sat, it was likely to pass. The Morning was foggy, but about one aClock, the Air became tolerably clear, to the great Satisfaction of the Spectators, who were infinite, Notice having been given of the intended Experiment several Days before in the Papers, so that all Paris was out, either about the Tuilleries, on the Quays & Bridges, in the Fields, the Streets, at the Windows, or on the Tops of Houses, besides the Inhabitants of all the Towns & Villages of the Environs. Never before was a philosophical Experiment so magnificently attended. Some Guns were fired to give Notice, that the Departure of the great Balloon was near, and a small one was discharg'd which went to an amazing Height, there being but little Wind to make it deviate from its perpendicular Course, and at length the Sight of it was lost. Means were used, I am told, to prevent the great Balloon's rising so high as might indanger its Bursting. Several Bags of Sand were taken on board before the Cord that held it down was cut, and the whole Weight being then too much to be lifted, such a Quantity was discharg'd as to permit its Rising slowly. Thus it would sooner arrive at that Region where it would be in Equilibrio with the surrounding Air, and by discharging more Sand afterwards, it might go higher if desired. Between One & Two aClock, all Eyes were gratified with seeing it rise majestically from among the Trees, and ascend gradually above the Buildings, a most beautiful Spectacle! When it was about 200 feet high, the brave Adventurers held out and wav'd a little white Pennant, on both Sides their Carr, to salute the Spectators, who return'd loud Claps of Applause. The Wind was very little, so that the Object, tho' moving to the Northward, continued long in View; and it was a great while before the admiring People began to disperse. The Persons embark'd were M^r. Charles, Professor of Experimental Philosophy, & a zealous Promoter of that Science; and one of the Messieurs Robert, the very ingenious Constructors of the Machine. When it arrived at its height, which I suppose might be 3 or 400 Toises, it appeared to have only horizontal Motion. I had a Pocket Glass, with which I

follow'd it, till I lost Sight, first of the Men, then of the Car, and when I last saw the Balloon, it appear'd no bigger than a Walnut. I write this at 7 in the Evening. What became of them is not yet known here. I hope they descended by Day-light, so as to see & avoid falling among Trees or on Houses, and that the Experiment was completed without any mischievous Accident which the Novelty of it & the want of Experience might well occasion. I am the more anxious for the Event, because I am not well inform'd of the Means provided for letting themselves gently down, and the Loss of these very ingenious Men would not only be a Discouragement to the Progress of the Art, but be a sensible Loss to Science and Society.

I shall inclose one of the Tickets of Admission, on which the Globe was represented, as originally intended, but is altered by the Pen to show its real State when it went off. When the Tickets were engraved, the Car was to have been hung to the Neck of the Globe, as represented by a little Drawing I have made in the Corner A. I suppose it may have been an Apprehension of Danger in straining too much the Balloon or tearing the Silk, that induc'd the Constructors to throw a Net over it, fix'd to a Hoop which went round its Middle, and to hang the Car to that Hoop, as you see in Fig. B.

Tuesday Morning, Dec. 2. I am reliev'd from my Anxiety, by hearing that the Adventurers descended well near l'Isle Adam, before Sunset. This Place is near 7 Leagues from Paris. Had the Wind blown fresh, they might have gone much farther.

If I receive any farther Particulars of Importance I shall communicate them hereafter.

With great Esteem, I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

& most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. Tuesday Evening.

Since writing the above, I have receiv'd the printed Paper & the Manuscript, containing some Particulars of the Experiment, which I enclose.—I hear farther, that the Travellers had perfect Command of their Carriage, descending as they pleas'd by letting some of the inflammable Air escape, and rising again by discharging some Sand; that

they descended over a Field so low as to talk with Labourers in passing and mounted again to pass a Hill. The little Balloon falling at Vincennes, shows that mounting higher it met with a Current of Air in a contrary Direction: An Observation that may be of use to future aerial Voyagers.

Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart.

(SOME PARTICULARS OF THE SECOND VOYAGE.)

M^r. Le Chevalier de Cubière qui a suivi la marche du Globe est arrivé chez M. Charles hier à 10 heures $\frac{1}{4}$ du Soir et a dit, Que les Voyageurs étoient descendus lentement et volontairement à trois heures $\frac{3}{4}$ dans les Marais de Nesle et d'Hebouville, une lieue et demie après l'Isle Adam. Ils y ont été accueillis par M^{rs}. le Duc de Chartre et Fitz James, qui après les avoir embrassés, ont signé le Procès verbal de lieu et d'heure. Beaucoup d'habitants de la campagne et le curé de Nesle et d'Hebouville se sont aussi trouvés à leur arrivée.

Les Voyageurs ont assuré n'avoir éprouvé que des Sensations agréables dans leur traversée. M^r. Robert étant sorti du Char, et aidé de quelques Paysans, se disposoit à remplacer sa Pesanteur avec de la Terre; mais M. Charles voulant profiter du peu de Jour qui lui restoit, pour faire encore quelques observations, impatienté de la Lenteur de cette operation, a repris son Vol à 4 heures et $\frac{1}{4}$, avec un excédant de Légèreté d'environ 100 Livres par une Ascension droite et une rapidité telle qu'en peu de tems le Globe s'est trouvé hors de vue. La Chute du Jour l'a déterminé à redescendre une lieue et $\frac{1}{2}$ plus loin, aux environs de Fouroy.

La Machine n'a éprouvé aucun Accident. Elle perdoit légèrement par une petite ouverture qui existoit déjà quelques heures avant son Depart auprès de l'appendice, et dont le Morceau de Taffetas que l'on y avoit appliqué au moment de l'expérience, s'étoit détaché.

Le petit Ballon est tombé dans la Cour du Dongeon à Vincennes. Il a été ramassé par des Enfans et vendu 6*d*. au nommé Bertrand. Il avoit perdu son air inflammable par le Robinet qu'on avoit laissé ouvert exprès pour empêcher l'explosion à trop grande hauteur. On évalue qu'il

a été 50 minutes en l'air. Le Taffetas étoit roussi aux deux Extrémités.

NOTES CONCERNING THE LETTERS.

Letter of August 30. The hand-writing is in a more flowing style than the subsequent letters. Bigelow omits paragraph ten beginning "It is said." Both Bigelow and Smyth give another paragraph in the Postscript, beyond the signature "B. F." in my copy; also a note dated Sept. 2d, which contains calculations in French relating to the balloon. Smyth says that these additions are not in the University of Pennsylvania draft but that they occur in this press-copy, which is obviously a mistake. In paragraph two of the Postscript "mov'd out," in Smyth, should read "being moved out," and in the last line but one "upon" should read "up in."

Letter of October 8. In the eighth line after the word "Balloon" Smyth inserts "lately." Part of the valedictory and the signature are omitted by Bigelow and Smyth, but the former gives an "Extract of the Proposals" for the balloon of which I have no copy.

Letter of November 21. This should be dated Nov. 22, since the ascension of d'Arlandes and de Rozier which, according to the letter, took place the previous day is known to have been on the 21st. The orthography of the French words in Bigelow and Smyth does not always agree with the copy. In paragraph three, for "Post," in Smyth, read "Port;" in paragraph six for "Adventures," in Smyth, read "Adventurers;" in paragraph thirteen for "By the emulation," in Smyth, read "But the Emulation;" in paragraph fifteen for the phrase, in Smyth and Bigelow, beginning, "I wish I could see the same emulation," correct to end, "between the two Nations as I see between the two Parties here;" in paragraph sixteen, in both Bigelow and Smyth, for "Experiment," read "Experience;" and for the unintelligible phrase in both Bigelow and Smyth, "Beings of a frank and [sic] nature," read "Beings of a Rank and Nature." Minor discrepancies between this and the other press-copies and the letters as printed by Bigelow and Smyth also occur. The signature is in pencil in this copy. A "P. S. Nov. 25th" is not in the press-copy, contrary to Smyth's statement, but I have a press-copy of the French *Procès-Verbal*, therein referred to, in Franklin's handwriting with his name and eight others affixed as witnesses. Neither Bigelow nor Smyth print this document, which was first reproduced in the book mentioned by Franklin in the first paragraph of his letter, viz: "Description des Expériences de la Machine Aérostatique par M. Faujas de Saint-Fond, Paris, 1783." Since Franklin's copy of the *Procès-Verbal* differs only in his spelling the word "*sang-froid*" instead of "*sens-froid*," I do not print it. However, other changes were introduced in the *Procès-Verbal* when reprinted in the second volume of M. Faujas' work, published in 1784. The plate

forming the frontispiece to this volume shows the balloon as seen from Mr. Franklin's terrace at Passy.

Letter of November 30. This has never been published so far as I know. "The Journal of the first Aerial Voyage," here mentioned, was written by the Marquis d'Arlandes to M. Faujas de Saint-Fond on Nov. 28th and first printed in the *Journal de Paris* but was republished by Faujas de Saint-Fond in his second volume.

Letter of December 1. Smyth states that he reproduced this letter from my press-copy but he omits the capital letters and the contractions in spelling, as well as the references "A" and "B," which are given by Bigelow with the remark that the drawings were not found. "The Manuscript, containing some Particulars of the Experiment, which I enclose," mentioned in the Postscript, is a two-page account in French, in Franklin's handwriting, by an eye-witness of the voyage, M. le Chevalier de Cubière. As this interesting document has never been published, to my knowledge, I have given it here *literatim* from my press-copy.

NOTES FROM THE ENGLISH ADMIRALTY
PAPERS.

CONTRIBUTED BY J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

The following notes were sent to me by Mr. Reginald G. Marsden of London. They are summaries of papers found among the records of the High Court of Admiralty in the Public Record Office, relating to two cases: Popham *c.* Havercombe, and Warwick *c.* Bruster or Brewster. Though they are merely Mr. Marsden's notes, it will always be possible for anyone who chooses to do so to obtain the full text of the documents by means of the references given. While the documents are not of the first importance, those relating to the first case cast an interesting light upon the Popham colony, and give some details which I have not seen elsewhere. The second case concerns the *Treasurer*, the history of whose voyage is well known not only on account of its semi-piratical or more than semi-piratical character, but especially because of its connection with the first importation of negroes into Virginia. Here also some details are given respecting the voyage of that ship, the voyage of the *Neptune*, and the death of Lord De la Warre, which are apparently new.

POPHAM *c.* HAVERCOMBE.

ADM. CT. EXAM. 29. 3 SEP., 1607.

Deposition of Roger Bamford, Lewis Owen, Wm. Lancaster, Wm. Angell and Jno. Halsey, owners of the *Triall*, 160 tons: George Kennethorpe and others hired her for a nine months voyage to Virginia; covenanted to bring her back to the Thames within nine months from 10 March, 160 $\frac{2}{3}$; George and Arthur Chambers took her to Dover and Weymouth and Dublin and Waterford; Sir Ralph Bingley

came to Waterford and put Roger Bamford under arrest for asking the Lord Deputy of Ireland to stay the ship, as the nine months were then passed; Bingley and Chambers quarrelled; Chambers left; Bingley made Arthur Chambers captain, as the crew would not sail without him; the ship went (filibustering?) to the coast of Spain. (Fourteen pages,)¹

ADM. CT. EXAM. 30. 10 JUNE, 1608.

Lancelot Booker deponent: On 5 July, 1607 deponent in the *Penelope*, Rd. Hall owner, met the *Gift of God* 60 leagues from Isle of Flowers² bound to Virginia, John Havercombe master, George Popham captain; deponent went in *Gift of God* as cooper;³ George Popham was accepted in Virginia as president; the *Mary and John* was with the *Gift of God*; the president and council sent the *Mary and John* back from Virginia to England in October 1607;⁴ the "Salvages" gave information to the president and council that the French intended to attack the English, so the *Gift of God* was ordered to stay in the harbor of Sakadahoc; she stayed there eight or nine weeks, watching; Capt. Elliot was appointed by the president and council captain of the *Gift of God*; on her return to England Elliot was directed to sell some masts and ordnance at the Azores; *Gift of God* arrived in Virginia in August, 1607; she sailed for England 16 December, 1607;⁵ arrived at Topsham in February, 1608; Elliot received his orders in Capt. Gilbert's house in St. George Town, in the presence of Geo. Popham, Rawleigh

¹ Bacon's remarks, in his report to the House of Commons, June 17, 1607, on a speech of Salisbury's in a conference with the Lords, "that this very last voyage to Virginia, intended for trade and plantation where the Spaniard hath no people nor possession, is already become infamed for piracy; Witness Bingley, who first insinuating his purpose to be an actor in that worthy action of enlarging trades and plantation, is become a pirate, and his ship is taken in Ireland, though his person is not yet in hold." Spedding, *Letters and Life*, III. 353.

² Flores in the Azores.

³ The cooper's house appears as No. 14 on the map of St. George's Fort, 1608, found in the Spanish archives at Simancas. See the reproductions in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 190, in the Gorges Society's *The Sagadahoc Colony*, and in Dr. H. B. Burrage's *Early English and French Voyages chiefly from Hakluyt*, p. 412.

⁴ Strachey in *Early English Voyages*, p. 418.

⁵ This confirms Brown's conjecture, *Genesis*, I. 144, 145.

Gilbert, Gawyn Cary,⁶ Robert Seaman, Jas. Davies, Edw. Harley, Jno. Elliot (of the council) and Mr. Foscue and Jno. Havercombe.

John Seaman deponent: Sir John (?) Popham went captain, Jno. Havercombe master; she sailed from Plymouth Sound in May or June 1607; arrived in Virginia in August; George Popham went in her to be president.

IBID. 18 JUNE, 1608.

John Elliot deponent: *Gift of God* in Virginia from 11 August to 16 December; then ordered to England.

WARWICK *c.* BRUSTER,

ADM. CT. EXAM. 110. 29 Nov., 1622.

Edward Bruster's answers: Earl of Warwick (then Sir Robert Rich) sent out the *Treasurer*, Daniel Elfrey master, for James Town; she cost £850. (One page.)

Signed by Brewster.

ADM. CT. EXAM. 44. 4 MAY, 1624.

Thos. Hopkins deponent: *Treasurer* was received by Sir Sam. Argoll in Virginia; Lord De la Warre died in the *Neptune* on 7 June, 1618; his patent as governor mentioned; De la Warre (not Brewster) was in command of the *Neptune*; she met with the *Treasurer* to the west of the Western Islands [Azores]; Elfrey was master of *Treasurer*; the *Neptune* put into De la Have (Canada)⁷ for provisions; a flag was put up in the *Treasurer's* main top as Admiral ship; Brewster never captain of the *Neptune*; Rd. Beamonte was her master; Brewster wished the *Treasurer* and the *Neptune* to capture a French ship at De la Have; the ship's company refused because unlawful. (Four pages.)

⁶ Captain John Smith, in his *Generall Historie*, p. 203, gives this man as "Gome Carew, chiefe Searcher." He also mentions Popham, Gilbert, "Master Seaman Secretary, Captaine James Davis Captaine of the Fort," and "Captaine Edward Harlow master of the Ordnance," to whose relation he professes himself chiefly indebted for his account of the colony on the Kennebec.

⁷ Cape de la Hève on the Nova Scotian coast.

AD. CT. EXAM. 44. 4 JUNE, 1624.

William Blackwell deponent: the *Treasurer* and the *Neptune* met at sea; the *Treasurer* had ordnance; the *Neptune* was set out by De la Warre; he went in her; died 7 June, 1618; the *Neptune* and the *Treasurer* met off St. Michael's Island;⁸ 11 or 12 people put out of the *Neptune* into the *Treasurer* at De la Warre's request, to go to Virginia; Elfrey master of the *Treasurer*; the *Treasurer* and the *Neptune* put into a port in Canada. (Three pages.)

AD. CT. EXAM. 44. 5 MAY, 1624.

Sir Thos. Smith deponent: the *Treasurer* belonged to Argoll and De la Warre had no interest in her. (One page.)

IBID. 14. MAY, 1624.

Sibella wife of Edw. Counstable deponent: the *Treasurer* had no fishing gear; she went for a man of war; put into Canada. (Two pages.)

⁸San Miguel in the Azores.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 16, 1907, AT
THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Rev.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

The following members were present:—

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam, Daniel Merriman, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, Granville S. Hall, Carroll D. Wright, Henry A. Marsh, John Green, William DeL. Love, Ezra S. Stearns, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, William R. Livermore, Waldo Lincoln, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, Samuel Utley, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Edmund A. Engler, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Clarence W. Bowen, Deloraine P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Franklin P. Rice, Caleb B. Tillinghast.

The by-laws being incorporated in full in the minutes of the last meeting, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the record.

Dr. HALE spoke as follows:

I have asked the Council and I ask the gentlemen of the Society to-day to accept my resignation of the post of President.

Mr. Barton tells me that it is sixty years since I was honored by election into the Society. My nomination was undoubtedly made by my near and dear friend, our librarian, Samuel Foster Haven, whose life work gave so much dignity to our association. I was living in Worcester, a young minister, with everything in life to learn; he honored me by his friendship and as the years went by there was scarcely a day in which I did not make one excuse and another for visiting our Library. With his guidance and counsel, it was an admirable school for any young man.

At to-day's meeting, our attention is called to those years of the middle of the century, by a letter from the trustees of an association formed to render fit honor to the memory of Elihu Burritt. He was a student in our library, who was always eager and proud to give it credit for the benefits which he had received from it. The younger generation of Americans hardly recollects as it should do the interest which attached to the work of this remarkable man. He early won the title of "the learned blacksmith," for he had that remarkable quickness in the acquisition of language, which is a special gift to some men,—which enabled him to use every prominent language in literature with more or less ease. When he was a workman at the forge in this town, he was made welcome in our Library and was using every day and night our lexicons and other authorities.

Mr. Burritt was well in advance in all the reforms of that day. His work was international and his plea for a "High Court of Nations," made at Brussels, at Paris, and at Frankfort in 1848-'49, and '50, has in our times assumed interest and importance which the world hardly anticipated then.¹

I am glad that we have an opportunity to commend to the people of New England the interesting historical memorial which his townsmen in New Britain are establishing.

It is a pleasure to try, at the last moment of official life, to discharge the duties which belong to an office so honorable as mine. Early in the summer, therefore, I addressed privately, five of our members whom I regarded as high

¹ See our Proceedings for October, 1841, for Burritt's own words.

authorities, and asked them to tell me, what for myself I knew I did not know, what had been the most valuable contributions to American history which have been published in the last two years.

I was imprudent enough at the same time, to ask our friends, Little & Brown, to give me a publisher's list of those historical books published in that time, which had proved themselves most important in the eyes of what used to be called "the trade." This was the honourable phrase by which the guild of publishers is called by Thomas Moore, and his contemporaries. The answer of these gentlemen, which I have with me, staggered me,—first in its revelations of my ignorance, and second, by the evident impossibility of presenting even an abridgment of it for your consideration now.

Dr. Herbert Putnam of the Library of Congress, had already given me a hint which made me look in the same direction. Since this month came in, I find in the accurate "Dial" of Chicago, the list of the books on history and biography which are to be published in the United States, between the first of October and the first of January next.

There are, alas, nearly 250 of *them*, alone. And the very convincing suggestion thus made has compelled me to resign my very simple plan of the beginning.

I shall ask the Committee of Publication if the curious list given me by Little & Brown has not sufficient value for the future to justify us in printing it. In such a list many of the most important are the work of distinguished associates of our own,—some of whom I am glad to welcome to-day. It is quite evident that while we have been busy in making history, our men of letters have not neglected the duty of studying the annals of the nation philosophically,—nor the other duty, of preserving and publishing in intelligible form, the details of what has happened and of what has transpired. "The several states," as one of my correspondents says, "display great zeal in hunting up and publishing materials for state history and local history. Young men are wonderfully alert and diligent in collecting materials and handling them critically."

Mr. Barton's report will show that we have added to our Library the most important books of these two years. With the enlargement of our permanent fund, we are able to go farther in such expense than we have hitherto done. And it is with a certain pride, that your president, in retiring from office, says, that in almost every detail of American history our own collections offer to careful students some opportunities which they cannot afford to lose.

Fortunately for the Society, in the earlier period of its existence, its friends secured from Congress a separate statute in our favor. This statute instructs all officers of the United States to send to the Library of the American Antiquarian Society a copy of every publication made by the national authorities. At the present time, when the scientific branches of the work of the nation are so extensive, this national gift is one of great value, and, in the single detail of political history, the last two years have given to us eight volumes of the lost records of the Continental Congress, which have been admirably edited by our coadjutor, Mr. Ford, to whose learning and skill our students have been so constantly indebted.

Dr. HALE then exhibited certain books taken from the Library, which he had caused to be placed upon the table before him. Among them was a copy of Downam's *Christian Warfare*, the one book from John Harvard's Library, which is said to have survived the conflagration of the College Library in 1764. Dr. HALE called attention to the excellent work performed in Washington, in the way of publishing historical documents, and especially alluded to the admirable work of our associate, Worthington C. Ford, in editing the *Records of the Continental Congress*.

The Report of the Council was then read by GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL. D.

The Report of the Treasurer was submitted by NATHANIEL PAINE, A. M. After reading such portions of the financial

report as were necessary, Mr. PAINE read the following communication to the Society:—

At the time the present treasurer assumed the duties of this office in October, 1863, there were but four regular Funds, viz:

The Librarian's and General Fund established in 1831, first called "The Twelve Thousand Dollar Fund," amounting to ²	\$21,395.12
The Collection and Research Fund, first called "The Fund of Five Thousand Dollars," of	8,688.29
The Bookbinding Fund, established in 1858, amounting to	6,440.55
The Publishing Fund, established in 1858, amounting to	6,677.84
The whole amounting to	<hr/> \$43,201.80

In 1867 these funds had increased to \$60,534.29, at which time the Salisbury Building Fund of \$8,000 was founded.

In June, 1868 the funds were increased by a gift from Hon. Isaac Davis, (then the senior member of the Council) of \$500 and was called the Isaac Davis Fund. Later he added \$1,000 to the Fund and in April, 1891, it was increased \$5,000 by the gift of that amount from his son, Hon. Edward L. Davis, and has since been called "The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund."

In October of the same year a legacy of \$1,000 received from the estate of Hon. Levi Lincoln, established the Lincoln Legacy Fund. ✓

It was not till 1879 that the number of Funds was again increased, at which time a legacy from Judge Thomas, of \$1,000 was received and became known as the Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

In 1880, the Publishing Fund was increased by a gift from Hon. Edward L. Davis of \$500.

The Tenney Fund was founded in March, 1881, by the bequest of Joseph A. Tenney of Worcester, of \$5,000. ✓

²The Librarian's and General Fund was increased in 1899 by a gift of \$5,000 from Hon. Stephen Salisbury.

The same year the Alden Fund of \$1,000 was established by Ebenezer Alden, M. D., the income to be used for the benefit of the Library, especially in the preparation of catalogues.

In 1882, the Haven Fund was created by a legacy from Samuel F. Haven, LL. D., for many years the Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, of \$1,000.

One hundred dollars was added to the Publishing Fund in 1883, by the gift of that sum from Rev. Robert C. Waterston of Boston.

The George Chandler Fund of \$500 was founded in 1884 by a gift from George Chandler, M. D., of Worcester, the income to be used "for procuring works in genealogy and kindred subjects."

In 1889, the Francis H. Dewey Fund was established by a legacy of \$2,000 from Hon. Francis H. Dewey, the income of which was to be used for the purchase of the biographies and writings of distinguished judges and lawyers.

In 1895, by a bequest of \$10,000 the George E. Ellis Fund was established, the income to be used for any object approved by the Society on the recommendation of the Council.

Rev. George E. Ellis, D. D., had been for several years the Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

The John and Eliza Davis Fund was established in 1900, by gifts of \$1,000 each from John C. B. Davis of Washington, Horace Davis of San Francisco, and Andrew McF. Davis of Cambridge.

The Life Membership Fund of \$2,600 was founded by a vote of the Council in 1901, to carry all money received for life membership to that fund.

From the estate of our late president was received a legacy of the Salisbury mansion at Lincoln Square, in Worcester, and the income received from rents carried to a fund called the "Salisbury Mansion Fund," now amounts to \$409.83, after paying taxes on the real estate.

These seventeen Funds now amount to over \$150,000, or \$106,000 more than when your present treasurer assumed the duties of the office.

To this has been added the last year \$60,000, as a part of the legacy of \$200,000 left by our late president, Hon. Stephen Salisbury.

In April last, the sum of \$1,000 was received from Otis Norcross, executor of the will of Charles E. French, and carried to the Librarian's and General Fund. This legacy was paid to the Society under the provision of a codicil to the will of Mr. French, which was in these words: "I give to the American Antiquarian Society or Association of Worcester, one thousand dollars (\$1,000) also a small bundle containing burned wood and scraps from the original Old Miles Standish house, Duxbury, 1650, also a MS. Calendar (with signs of the Zodiac) of about the 14th Century, on vellum, rolled on a wooden handle."

The total of these eighteen funds is now nearly \$219,000 or about \$175,000 more than when I became your treasurer.

While the market value of our stocks and bonds, in common with those of all other societies, has largely declined during the past year, it is gratifying to note that the present market value is still about \$5,000 more than that at which they stand on the books of the Treasurer.

In retiring from this office, which by your kind indulgence he has held for forty-four years, the treasurer wishes to put on record his very high appreciation of the many courtesies and kindnesses he has received from the members of the Society. In all these years his labors in behalf of the Society have been lightened by your kind consideration, for which he renders most sincere and hearty thanks. While he gives up the duties, which he does with regret, he realizes that he is growing old and sees the necessity of some younger man taking charge of the financial affairs.

Dr. HALE: Gentlemen, it is the desire of the Society to reciprocate to the Treasurer our thanks for the service of a life-time. It is proposed that the thanks of the Society shall be formally expressed to Mr. Paine on this occasion, for the service which he has performed and the work that he has done for the Society. As many as are in favor will rise.

It is a unanimous vote.

Mr. Paine expressed his gratitude for this expression of the feelings of the Society.

The Report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The Report of the Committee on the Library with reference to arranging the manuscripts of the Society was then presented by Mr. FRANKLIN P. RICE:

Satisfactory progress has been made in the classifying and cataloguing of the manuscripts in the Society's collection since the beginning of this work by Dr. C. H. Lincoln last May. In a statement prepared at the request of the Library Committee, Dr. Lincoln reports that there are between twenty-five and thirty thousand manuscripts in the collection, but that this enumeration does not convey an adequate idea of its magnitude, as bound volumes and single sheets are given the same consideration. In the number stated, there are nearly one thousand volumes comprising sermons, diaries and letter-books. The strength of the collection is in manuscripts relating to the Colonial history of New England and particularly of Massachusetts. The large number and the character of these materials are an indication that considerable time—probably several years—will be required for their proper classification, but it is a work which the Society cannot afford to neglect or postpone, as the results will prove of inestimable value, and will amply justify the necessary labor and expense.

A general examination of the collection has been made which has brought to light many unsuspected treasures. More than a dozen groups have already been classified, and group cards made for six collections. Individual calendar cards have been prepared for three groups, and two collections have been catalogued. It is the intention to begin the printing of a series of calendars of certain groups of manuscripts, the first of which, the Sir William Johnson Papers, comprising about seventy-five letters and docu-

ments, will appear in connection with the Proceedings of this meeting, and there will also be printed specimens of group and individual cards to illustrate the method which will be pursued in the cataloguing of the general collection.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, then submitted the following nominations for resident membership in the Society:

Charles McLean Andrews, Ph. D., of Baltimore, Md.
Clarence Monroe Burton, LL. B., of Detroit, Mich.
George Pierce Garrison, Ph. D., of Austin, Texas.
Thomas McAdory Owen, LL. D., of Montgomery, Ala.
Herbert Putnam, LL. D., of Washington, D. C.
James Schouler, LL. D., of Intervale, N. H.
Frederick Jackson Turner, Ph. D., of Madison, Wis.
Henry Ernest Woods, A. M., of Boston, Mass.

Rev. Austin S. Garver, A. M., and George P. Winship, A. M., were appointed a committee to collect ballots. All of the candidates above named were elected and the President announced their election.

While the balloting was going forward the President said:

Referring to what has already been said of Burr's Conspiracy—any person interested in that history will find more in the Texan and Mexican Archives than in ours. In our own Department of State, there is comparatively little of detail about Burr's plans. There is nothing in them, I may say about the murder of Philip Nolan, in Texas. But I found when I was studying his history in Texas, that the Spanish Government had agents in our cities, making reports monthly or quarterly, as to things of which our government knew or pretended to know nothing—and if any one wishes to study the matter, it is well for him to go to Mexico and look over their collections there. The Mexicans have kept these documents with great care for those who wish to see them.

The meeting then proceeded to elect officers of the Society for the ensuing year. Dr. Hale, in making the announcement that the Society would proceed to the election of a President, availed himself of the opportunity to say that he had unqualifiedly resigned and had so notified the Council.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A. M., then nominated Mr. WALDO LINCOLN, A. B. of Worcester, for President of the Society. After expressing his regret that Dr. HALE was unwilling to serve us longer, he said, that in the selection of Mr. Lincoln a year ago for Second Vice-President, it had been foreseen, that Mr. Lincoln must practically become the executive head of the Society. Mr. Green pointed out that Mr. Lincoln was a prominent man in the City of Worcester, whose career had been conspicuously successful, yet who had found time to show his deep interest in the objects of the Society, not only by contributing to our Proceedings, but by personally supervising our affairs while Vice-President, to an extent which was gratefully appreciated by the Council. Mr. Green also called attention to the fact that Mr. Lincoln bore a name which for several generations had been prominent in city, state and national affairs, and feelingly expressed his appreciation of the personal qualifications which especially fitted Mr. Lincoln for the office.

The President appointed Henry H. Edes, A. M., and Colonel William R. Livermore, a committee to collect votes for a President of the Society. This committee having performed that service, reported that all the ballots cast were for Mr. Lincoln.

The announcement of Mr. LINCOLN's election was greeted with prolonged applause, whereupon he spoke as follows:

Gentlemen:—

In thanking you for the high honor which you have conferred on me by electing me your President, I wish, first of all, to express my regret that Dr. Hale has been unwilling to continue to hold the office. His name as President adds a lustre to the Society which it is a pity

to dim by the election of anyone less well known than our beloved senior member. The arrangement made last year was agreeable to me and I would gladly have had it continue.

It will be my aim as your President to continue the policy developed during the past year and to improve on it as occasion may arise. The Society has large and important questions before it. The need for a new building, not only for the safety but for the storage of our collections, has become imperative, and it must probably be erected on a new site, as it is unlikely that we shall be allowed to fireproof or enlarge our present building. Our collections, which may well be limited in some lines, may equally well be extended in others. The facilities for consulting our collections should be increased and improved. Any local spirit, which may at times have seemed too dominant, should give way to a larger, broader view, which will make the Society American in more than name; and while our local membership must of necessity continue disproportionately large, that we may have men for administrative work, every leading historian and antiquarian in the United States should be on our rolls, appreciative of our collections, interested in our work and contributors to our Proceedings.

I trust that these views may not seem too ambitious and that I may have your coöperation in solving the questions involved in them.

At the conclusion of these remarks Mr. Lincoln requested Dr. HALE to retain the chair. Hon. Samuel A. Green, LL.D., James F. Hunnewell, A. M., and Clarence S. Brigham, A. B., were then appointed by the Chair a committee to report a list of candidates for the several offices in the Society which remained to be filled at this meeting.

This committee reported the following ticket:—

Vice-Presidents:

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.

Council:

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, Rhode
Island.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, Litt.D., of Portland, Maine.
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL.D., of Worcester.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL of Worcester.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D., of New Haven,
Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge.

Treasurer:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, Ph.D., of Worcester.
FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE of Worcester.
CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST, Litt.D., of Boston.
DELORAINÉ PENDRE COREY of Malden.

Auditors:

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester.
HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH of Worcester.

On motion, the Society proceeded to ballot for officers with the result that all of the foregoing candidates were elected.

Dr. CARROLL D. WRIGHT:—

Mr. President: I trust you will pardon me if I ignore your office of President for a few moments?

Dr. HALE: Certainly.

Dr. WRIGHT: I have the honor of the invitation from the Council to express the feeling and sentiment of the American Antiquarian Society, and the nation at large, relative to our retiring President, Dr. Hale.

The Council, in its report, and the Librarian, have called attention to the fact that Dr. HALE has been a continuous member of this Society for sixty years. Dr. HALE settled in Worcester in 1846, when he was twenty-four years of age. The very next year, when he was twenty-five, and in October, sixty years ago, he was elected a member of the Antiquarian Society. I find in the records of the Society that this covers the longest period of membership of any man since its organization. He stands alone not only in this, but he stands alone and unique in all his traditions. I have tried to find a parallel of Dr. HALE's life and service. I have thought of the public men that have come and gone; of the great speakers, lecturers and statesmen; and so far as I can see, there is not a man, and there never has been a man in the United States that has addressed as many audiences or as many individuals as our honored and revered friend. Never, so far as I could find, has there been one single utterance of his that has not been in the interest of the very highest and most ideal humanities. He has always since his youth looked up and not down, outward and not inward, forward and not backward. No call has ever come to him to which he did not respond either by good advice, good words or by active interest in the enterprise. And even to-day, at eighty-five, he is sending his words broadcast; every week,—more than once a

week, you can read what he says,—and you find the old-time thought, the old-time character and sincerity in it all. Never a word that is not in the interest of humanity. Why, Dr. HALE once said,—if he is reported correctly, and I think he must be,—as I have known him,—that he could not be a successful novelist, because his heart would not allow him to kill off any of his characters.

Now, that is perfectly typical of the man. We are honoring him, eulogizing him here to-day because he is one of us,—but he belongs to the whole country and to the world, wherever the English language is spoken or wherever it is translated into other languages. Whatever he says commands attention. He is loved and revered without reference to theological tenets or denominational lines. Everybody loves Dr. HALE, and yet Dr. HALE is always fearless in expressing his views. Now, why do we all love him? Why does everybody, wherever you go, have an affectionate regard for that name? You might say that he is a national character because of this; but it is because of this that he is a national and an international character. Officially, now, he is a national character, but the Senate of the United States could not elevate Dr. HALE. Dr. HALE can elevate the Senate. Therefore, while officially he is a national character, he nationalizes the body not *to* which he prays, but *for* which he prays. The Senate cannot contaminate him,—and if he guides that honorable body in the highest ways of statesmanship, bringing to his prayers every morning, as he does, lessons that ought to sink deep into the hearts of men who are responsible for our welfare, I am sure that his closing days will be days of increased service along the very lines of his whole life.

We cannot pay him a higher tribute than to recognize him as this great national character. We cannot honor ourselves so sweetly, so deeply, as by honoring him as one of us. (*Applause.*)

Dr. HALE: I cannot thank Dr. Wright as I should for his kind words, I can only repeat to the friends who hear it, the advice which my mother gave to some girls who

came to ask her advice about the care of children. They have become a sort of motto of my life;—and I was rather pleased to find, the other day, that this was what the greater philosophy directs: "Let her do as well as she can every day."

Mr. SAMUEL UTLEY made the following motion:

That in recognition of the long and honorable services of Mr. Nathaniel Paine as Treasurer of the Society for forty-four years, Article first of the By-Laws is hereby suspended so far as it fixes the number of the Councillors, and Mr. Paine is hereby elected Councillor for the ensuing year in addition to the number provided for in the By-Laws.

It appearing from the records that the Council had recommended the passage of the above motion, it was unanimously adopted.

The Recording Secretary in behalf of the Council, then presented the following resolutions, stating that the Council recommend their passage by the Society:

I. That Article VIII. of the By-Laws be amended by substituting for the word "annual" the word "any unexpended".

II. That authority be given to the Council to erect a stack and to fire-proof the present building—the cost to be charged to the principal of any Fund which may be lawfully so used.

III. That in order to regulate the Collections of the Society, the Council is authorized from time to time to dispose of books and other printed matter by sale, exchange or gift as it judges best for the interests of the Society.

IV. That Mr. Waldo Lincoln be authorized to take such legal steps as are necessary to secure a modification of the Lincoln Legacy so that it can be applied to the general purposes of the Society.

After the reading of the resolutions as a whole each resolution was considered separately and was adopted.

A place had been reserved in the programme for Capt. Roald Amundsen, of Christiania, Norway, whose presence had been hoped for at this meeting. The President expressed regret at his absence and spoke of the entertaining character of his lectures.

Dr. HALE also said that he was reminded by the Librarian in his report, that Mr. Bryce, at present the British Ambassador in this country, was chosen a corresponding member of this Society twenty-five years ago. There had been some hopes of his presence to-day, he believed.

Mr. LINCOLN: I have heard from Mr. Bryce,—he regrets that he cannot take the time—it would cost him practically three days to attend the meeting, and he does not feel that he can spare this from his work.

EDWARD CHANNING, Ph. D., then made a communication on Col. Thomas Dongan.

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS, A. M., read a paper on "Was it Andros?"

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Ph. D., then read a paper on "America's Interest in English Parish Registers."

CHARLES A. CHASE, A. M., then submitted a brief paper on "The Society's Land Titles."

Referring to a letter in the Librarian's report on the subject of "Dedimus Justices,"¹ Mr. Chase took issue with the writer, as follows:

In 1780 the General Court of Massachusetts created the office of commissioners to qualify public officers. Three gentlemen in this room hold this commission: Mr. William A. Smith, who stands eighth by seniority on our roll of members, and who received his commission from Governor Boutwell fifty-six years ago, Mr. Nathaniel Paine and myself, who have both held the commission for some thirty or forty years.

¹ *Infra*, page 320.

The statutes of Maine provide that the Governor, with the advice and consent of the council, may appoint in each county "persons" before whom the oaths required by the Constitution to qualify civil officers, may be taken and subscribed. The statute gives them no title, not even that of commissioner; they are simply "persons." Anybody who wished to find the statute of Maine corresponding to our own would look through the index in vain. He would find no reference under the head of "Commissioners" or even of "Persons." If he were told to look under the head of "Dedimus Justices" he would find the statute but would not find the name itself. The title must therefore be considered a nickname without any legal standing. The office is in no sense judicial; and while we can trace the origin of the word "dedimus" probably to old commissions we must consider the title as a misnomer. But I suppose that if one of our commissioners should have asked our associate Mr. Baxter, "What is a Dedimus Justice?", he would have received the reply which Macbeth gave to Donalbain: "You are, my Lord, and do not know it."

On motion the several communications and reports submitted to the meeting were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting then dissolved.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS,

Recording Secretary.

After the meeting the members were entertained at luncheon by President Lincoln at his residence.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In compliance with the by-laws of the Society, the Council reports that the affairs of the Society are all in good order under the charge of the officers recently elected and the committee appointed as above reported, who are all engaged upon the work assigned them.

The library and financial conditions of the Society appear to be satisfactory, as will be shown in the annual report of the treasurer herewith submitted.

The death of George Grenville Benedict, Litt. D., of Burlington, Vermont, has been reported, and a brief paper upon his life and work has been prepared by the Society's biographer.

Vice-president Waldo Lincoln, Honorable Edward L. Davis and Judge Samuel Utley were appointed to consider the question of a new building. This committee has carefully gone over the many questions involved, examined sites, consulted an architect concerning the present building occupied by the Society, and has interviewed the County Commissioners in regard to the disposal of the present building and grounds of the Society. They have reported to the Council.

The committee appointed at the annual meeting to consider the publication of the British Royal Proclamations relating to America, report that they have appointed Mr. Clarence Saunders Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, as editor.

Vice-president Lincoln was appointed to take suitable action regarding the removal of present limitations on the use of the Lincoln Legacy Fund, also to examine and report upon objections imposed upon expenditures from the Collection and Research and other funds of the Society,

and an action of the Society in this direction will be requested.

Vice-president Lincoln reported to the Council on behalf of the Library Committee that many books upon our shelves are of questionable value, especially in view of the crowded condition of the alcoves, and asked the Council to consider the question of disposing of books least likely to be used and the Council will present a vote to the Society for action.

It will be remembered that the Society authorized a committee to have the manuscripts owned by the Society indexed. This plan has been perfected and Mr. Charles H. Lincoln, formerly of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, has been appointed tentatively to begin this work. Mr. Lincoln has already presented a report to the Council and the Library Committee covering his work up to date, from which it appears that there are between 25,000 and 30,000 manuscripts in the collection and that the work of indexing these manuscripts is well under way. The Society has long desired and urgently needed a description of its priceless collection of manuscripts relating to America and particularly to Colonial History and may well congratulate itself on this auspicious beginning of a scientific treatment of this comprehensive material. The work will doubtless be long and difficult but in the opinion of the Council it can be no longer delayed. In going over the miscellaneous papers, many manuscripts which really belong in certain well defined groups can be taken from the miscellaneous collections in which they are found and united with the group to which they belong. When this analytic and descriptive work is complete, each manuscript can be located and classified with those with which it is most closely connected and an abstract of the contents of the more important manuscripts will be at hand.

It was the sense of the Council that the Society should proceed to fill the thirty-five present vacancies in the Society as fast as suitable candidates could be presented, and in view of this the Council presents to-day, through its committee, eight nominations for the action of the Society. The Council has taken great pains to secure a long list of

desirable names vouched for by experts, not only from New England, but from the country at large, from which nominations to-day, and perhaps those to be made in the near future can be selected.

Mr. Nathaniel Paine, after forty-four years of continuous and faithful service as treasurer of the Society, declines reelection to that important office. It is the desire of the Council that under suspension of the by-laws he be added to their number. Mr. Paine was elected a member of the Society, October 22, 1860, and was elected treasurer, October 21, 1863, and has been a member of the Committee on Publication since 1880. In seniority of membership, Mr. Paine ranks third, Dr. Hale having been elected in October, 1847, and Dr. Davis in April, 1851. Mr. Paine has also made valuable contributions to our Proceedings. The retirement of such an officer after such service is an unusual event and the Council desires to record its profound sense both of regret and of gratitude. If the Society were able to confer some suitable honorary or retiring degree upon those who have been so long and so vitally connected with its work, it could not better be bestowed.

G. STANLEY HALL,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

George Grenville Benedict, died April 8th, 1907. He was born in Burlington, Vermont, December 10th, 1826.

Graduated from the University of Vermont in 1847, receiving the degree of M. A. in 1850, and was a teacher in Washington Institute in New York City about one year. He was associated in the management of the Burlington Free Press from 1853 during life, being its editor from 1866. He was also connected with the Vermont and Boston Telegraph Co. 1860-65, finally as president.

He served in the Civil war about one year, and received from Congress a medal of honor for distinguished conduct at the battle of Gettysburg. He was Postmaster in Burlington eight years, collector of customs for Vermont four years, trustee of the University of Vermont forty years, and state historian of Vermont; trustee of the New York Historical Association, president of the Vermont Historical Society, and member of the American Antiquarian Society since 1899.

He published "Vermont in the Civil War," "Vermont at Gettysburg," "Army Life in Virginia," and "Gilman's Bibliography of Vermont," which he edited and brought down to date.

He married Mary A. Kellogg, who died in 1857, and Katherine A. Pease, who survives him, together with one son.

Memorials of him may be found in the Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society 1905-6, P. 161, from which this notice is taken.

Solomon Lincoln, died in Boston, Mass., October 15th, 1907. He was born in Hingham, Mass., August 14th, 1838, the son of Solomon and Mehitable (Lincoln) Lincoln; graduated from Harvard University in 1857, the valedictorian of a class having many distinguished members; was tutor at Harvard 1858-1863. He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1863, was admitted to the bar in 1864 and practised the profession of law until his death.

He was president of the board of trustees of the Boston Public Library, an overseer of Harvard University and for several years president of the board; a member of the board

of trustees of the Boston Athenæum, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a member of this Society since 1882. He was connected with many clubs and business associations; Harvard University conferred on him the degree of A. M.

He married Miss Ellen B. Hayden Feb. 15th, 1865, and had one daughter.

John Thomas Doyle, died at Menlo Park, California, in December 1906.

He was born in New York City Nov. 26th, 1819; graduated at Georgetown University in 1838, with the degree of A. B.; which was followed in 1840 by that of A. M., and in 1889 by that of LL. D.

In 1842 he was admitted to the bar in New York City and practised the profession of law there till 1851, when he became general agent of a company which aimed to build a ship canal across Nicaragua, but funds not being obtained, he resigned and resumed the practice of law in San Francisco, retiring in 1890.

In 1876 he recovered from Mexico \$904,000 interest on the Pious Fund of the Catholic Church, which fund the Mexican government had taken possession of in 1842, and in 1902 he made claim to later interest which was referred to the permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, and was the first case heard by that tribunal causing it to be an historical case, and in 1902 judgment was rendered that Mexico should perpetually pay \$43,050 annually, and thirty-three years arrearages at the same rate.

He was a member of the California Historical Society; President for many years of the San Francisco Law Library; State Commissioner of Transportation; and President of the State Viticultural Commission.

He became a member of this society in 1878 and contributed a "Memorandum as to the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco," to be found in our Proceedings, October, 1873, p. 101, and another article on "The Bay of San Francisco," in our Proceedings, N. S. Vol. 6, p. 78. He was an occasional contributor to magazines on legal and local subjects. His library ranked among the large private libraries of California.

May 26th, 1863, he married Antonia Pons in New York City. S. U.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 1, 1907, here follows:

Since the last report, there has been received under the will of our late President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the sum of \$60,000, making the total amount of cash and investments on hand October 1, 1907, \$218,902.07 It is divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$31,255.72
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,404.83
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	7,710.43
The Publishing Fund,.....	31,791.29
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,..	15,279.22
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	7,292.34
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,...	1,063.16
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,370.74
The Alden Fund,.....	1,000.00
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,503.42
The George Chandler Fund,.....	523.17
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	4,875.88
The George E. Ellis Fund,.....	17,503.73
The John and Eliza Davis Fund,.....	3,906.99
The Life Membership Fund,.....	2,600.00
The Salisbury Mansion Fund,.....	409.83
The Salisbury Legacy Fund,.....	60,675.00
	<hr/>
	\$215,165.75
Income Account,.....	3,367.31
Premium Account,.....	369.01
	<hr/>
	\$218,902.07

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$61,767.72.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending September 30, 1907, is as follows:

DR.

1906. Oct. 10.	Balance of cash as per last report,	\$1,889.84
1907. Sept. 30.	Income from investments to date,	8,063.76
" "	For life membership,.....	150.00
" "	For annual assessments,.....	100.00
" "	Bequest from Charles E. French,	1,000.00
" "	Gift from Frederick L. Gay,....	110.00
" "	Securities paid or sold,.....	1,308.00
" "	Premium on Securities,	2,220.00
" "	Paid on Mortgage Notes,.....	100.00
" "	Rent Salisbury Mansion,.....	901.18
" "	The Estate of Stephen Salisbury,	60,000.00
		<hr/>
		\$75,842.78

CR.

By salaries to September 30, 1907,.....	\$4,705.74
Amount paid for Cataloging Manuscripts,....	668.48
Amount paid for Publications,.....	998.30
Books purchased,.....	598.24
For binding,.....	498.35
Account of Salisbury Mansion including taxes,	607.15
Invested in stocks and bonds,.....	4,396.39
Insurance,.....	306.40
For lighting and telephone,.....	90.11
Account of building,.....	108.49
For coal,.....	287.35
Rent of Newspaper room,.....	173.33
Repairs on buildings,.....	206.95
Plans of real estate,.....	104.19
Deposited in Savings Banks,.....	104.29
Account Collection and Research Fund.....	108.20
Incidental Expenses,.....	113.10
	<hr/>
	14,075.06
Balance of cash September 30, 1907,.....	61,767.72
	<hr/>
	\$75,842.78

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 10, 1906.....	\$35,244.51	
Received from the estate of Charles E. French,.	1,000.00	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	1,329.28	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	225.00	
" " Alden Fund,.....	45.00	
From Life Membership Fund,.....	117.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$37,960.77	
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,.....	6,705.05	
	<hr/>	
Balance, September 30, 1907,.....		\$31,255.72

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$16,763.56	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	749.47	
	<hr/>	
	\$17,513.03	
Charged to this account,.....	108.20	
	<hr/>	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$17,404.83

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$7,876.82	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	331.96	
	<hr/>	
	\$8,208.78	
Paid for binding, etc.,.....	498.35	
	<hr/>	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$7,710.43

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$31,420.60	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	1,368.99	
	<hr/>	
	\$32,789.59	
Paid on account of publications,.....	998.30	
	<hr/>	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$31,791.29
	<hr/>	
Carried forward,.....		\$88,162.27

Brought forward, . . . \$88,162.27

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$14,655.64

Income to September 30, 1907,..... 657 94

\$15,313.58

Paid for books purchased,..... 34.36

Balance September 30, 1907,..... \$15,279.22

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$6,977.88

Income to September 30, 1907,..... 314.46

Balance September 30, 1907,..... \$7,292.34

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$1,066.61

Income to September 30, 1907,..... 45.78

\$1,112.39

Paid for local histories,..... 49.23

Balance September 30, 1907,..... \$1,063.16

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$5,311.07

Income to September 30, 1907,..... 231.26

\$5,542.33

Paid for repairs, etc.,..... 171.59

Balance September 30, 1907,..... \$5,370.74

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,..... \$1,000.00

Income to September 30, 1907,..... 45.00

\$1,045.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,... 45.00

Balance September 30, 1907,..... \$1,000.00

Carried forward,..... \$118,167.73

1907.]

Report of the Treasurer.

305

Brought forward, . . . \$118,167.73

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$5,000.00	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	225.00	
		\$5,225.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,...	225.00	
		<hr/>
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$1,541.55	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	64.75	
		\$1,606.30
Paid for books,.....	102.88	
		<hr/>
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$1,503.42

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$421.07	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	142.54	
		\$563.61
Paid for books,.....	40.44	
		<hr/>
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$523.17

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$4,707.11	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	209.97	
		\$4,917.08
Paid for books,.....	41.20	
		<hr/>
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$4,875.88

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$17,061.34	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	753.75	
		\$17,815.09
Paid for books,.....	311.36	
		<hr/>
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$17,503.73

Carried forward,...

Brought forward,. . . \$147,573.93

The John and Eliza Davis Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 10, 1906,.....	\$3,765.02	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	168.24	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,933.26	
Paid for books,.....	26.27	
	<hr/>	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$3,906.99

The Life Membership Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	\$2,450.00	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	117.00	
Life Membership,.....	150.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$2,717.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,..	117.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$2,600.00

The Salisbury Mansion Fund.

Balance October 10, 1906,.....	115.80	
Rent to September 30, 1907,.....	901.18	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,016.98	
Paid taxes and expenses.....	607.15	
	<hr/>	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$409.83

The Salisbury Legacy Fund.

Received from estate of Stephen Salisbury,....	\$60,000.00	
Income to September 30, 1907,.....	675.00	
Balance September 30, 1907,.....		\$60,675.00
	<hr/>	
Total of the eighteen funds,.....		\$215,165.75
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....		3,367.31
" " " " Premium Account,...		369.01
	<hr/>	
September 30, 1907, total,.....		\$218,902.07

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
Fitchburg National Bank,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 870.00
Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston,...	3,200.00	3,200.00	5,120.00
Old Boston National Bank,.....	300.00	300.00	330.00
Webs. & Atlas Nat. Bank, Boston,..	1,800.00	1,800.00	2,400.00
Worcester National Bank,.....	1,600.00	1,600.00	3,000.00
Worcester Trust Co.,.....	300.00	300.00	870.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	6,100.00
Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co., Stock,.	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,350.00
Atchison, Top. & Santa Fé R.R., "	700.00	1,100.00	935.90
Union Pacific R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,870.00
West End St. Ry. Co. (Pfd.) "	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00
N. Y., N. Haven & Hart. R. R., "	6,500.00	5,500.00	7,800.90
Worcester Gas Light Co., "	800.00	800.00	1,800.00
Mass. Gas Light Co.,.....	2,900.00	3,500.00	2,835.00
Boston Tow Boat Co.,.....	1,000.00	1,000.00	750.00
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co., "	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
Old South Building Trust,....	1,000.00	1,000.00	500.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$34,950.00	\$34,950.00	\$44,880.00

BONDS.

Atchison, Tope. & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,			
Gen. Mortgage, 4 per cent.,...	\$1,540.00	\$2,000.00	\$1,900.00
Adjustable, 4 per cent.,.....	885.00	1,000.00	870.00
Kan. City, Ft. Sc. & Gulf R. R. 7 p. c.	3,300.00	3,300.00	3,400.00
Chicago & East. Ill. R. R., 5 per cent.	10,000.00	10,000.00	10,400.00
Low., Law. & Hav. St. Ry. Co., 5 per ct.	7,620.00	8,000.00	8,000.00
Wilkesbarre & East. R. R. Co., 5 per ct.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,040.00
Chicago, Cin't & Louis. R. R. 4½ per ct.	3,000.00	3,000.00	2,250.00
Père Marquette R. R. Co., 4 per cent.	5,000.00	5,000.00	4,000.00
Southern Indiana R. R. Co., 4 p. c.	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,600.00
Lake Shore, Mich. So. R. R. Co., 4 p. c.	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,800.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R., 4 p. c.	10,000.00	10,000.00	9,400.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R., 3½ p. c.	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,820.00
Illinois Central R. R., 3½ per cent..	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,980.00
C., Burlington & Quincy R. R., 4 p. c.	5,000.00	5,000.00	4,600.00
Worc. & Marl. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.	3,000.00	3,000.00	2,940.00
Worc. & Web. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried forward,.....	\$96,295.00	\$97,250.00	\$103,860.00

<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$96,295.00	\$97,250.00	\$103,860.00
West End St. Ry. Co., 4 per cent. . .	1,000.00	1,000.00	960.00
Lynn & Boston Ry. Co., 5 per cent. .	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co., 5 p. c.	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Boston Elevated R. R. Co., 4 p. c. . .	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,920.00
Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo, 5 per ct.	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,150.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co., 4 per cent.	12,946.39	13,000.00	10,530.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, 6 p. c.	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Crompton & Knowles L'm W's, 6 p. c.	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
Hoosier Equipment Co., 5 per cent.	4,000.00	4,000.00	3,600.00
Union Pacific, Rept. 3½ p. c.	450.00	450.00	450.00
City of Brockton, 4 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,960.00
City of Quincy Water Bonds, 4 p. c.	4,000.00	4,000.00	3,920.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$138,691.39	\$139,700.00	\$143,350.00

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

WORCESTER, MASS., September 30, 1907.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1907, has been examined by Lewis C. Muzzy, a public accountant and auditor, and his certificate that the same is correct and properly vouched is herewith submitted.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,

HENRY A. MARSH,

October 10, 1907.

Auditors.

I hereby certify that I have examined the report of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society made up to October 1, 1907, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched. And I further certify that all the securities and cash have been duly transferred to A. George Bullock, the Assistant Treasurer, in compliance with the wish of the Treasurer.

LEWIS C. MUZZY,

Public Accountant and Auditor.

October 10, 1907.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

In the "Rules and Regulations" adopted by the Council April 17, 1907 are the following sections:

V. LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Three members of the Society shall annually be appointed a Committee on the Library, who shall have charge of the Library, Museum and their furnishings, regulate the additions thereto, decide upon the details of administration, and superintend and direct in regard to the use of the Library and its collections, subject to the approval of the Council.

VI. LIBRARIAN AND ASSISTANTS.

The Librarian and Assistants shall have charge and custody of the books and collections, subject to the direction of the Library Committee, and shall administer the details of the Library to the approval of said Committee, who shall prescribe the hours for the use of books and all matters of administration.

The careful "details of administration," which appear in section VIII., under thirteen headings, are practical safeguards to a library which is unique in several of its departments. The library committee has been constantly helpful during a year of marked activity. They have provided increased protection for the Hall and its invaluable contents, and added various improvements looking towards ease of administration by the library staff. Shelves have been added on the second floor and space secured on the first floor by the gift, sale or exchange of newspapers and duplicate material no longer thought desirable for the Society to retain. The larger gifts were to the Michigan State Library, Virginia State Library, Worcester Society of Antiquity, Williams College, Teacher's College of Columbia University, Clark University, Clark College, and the

Worcester Natural History Society. The Virginia State Library has been informed that at the close of the Jamestown Exposition our Society's exhibit of a set of its own publications, will there be deposited as the property of the Commonwealth of Virginia. A similar exhibit at the last Paris Exposition was allowed to remain in France as the Society's gift to the Société des 'Americanistes de Paris.

The following acknowledgment is from the Board of Directors of the Worcester Natural History Society:

WORCESTER, April 3, 1907.

Dear Sir:

I am instructed by the Directors of the Worcester Natural History Society to express their appreciation of, and thanks for, the valuable gift by the American Antiquarian Society of ten folio plates of Birds of America, drawn from nature by John J. Audubon.

By vote of the Directors, these plates are to be suitably framed, and they will be displayed in the Museum.

Very respectfully yours,

FRANKLIN P. RICE.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.

Our duplicate set of Audubon's rare work on "The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America"—in three folio volumes—has since been placed upon the library shelves of the same Society.

I note the loss from the library staff on October 9, of Miss Christine E. Robinson after five years of service marked by accuracy, industry, intelligence and devotion to the Society and its patrons. In this connection mention should be made of her painstaking work in making the required type-written copies of our unpublished Revolutionary orderly books of Col. William Henshaw.

Miss Emma F. Waite was added to the library force on the first day of October current.

The following letters refer to pages 200 and 201 of Mr. Nathaniel Paine's paper on Early American Engravings

which appeared in the Society's proceedings of April 25, 1906.

PHILADA Decbr. 3rd 1906

Dear Mr. Barton;—

As an interesting sequel to the story of the Indian Kings in Mr. Paine's paper in the last published Proceedings I send you the inscription upon a large silver two-handled cup with cover that was exhibited by Mr. George L. Schuyler at the Washington Inauguration Centennial Celebration, New York, April, 1889.

Presented by
ANNE QUEEN OF ENGLAND
to

Col. Peter Schuyler of Albany
in the province of New York

April 19th 1710

To commemorate his visit to England by request
of the Provincial Government accompanied
by Five Sachems of the
Mohawks.

Faithfully,
CHAS. HENRY HART.

Dear Mr. Barton;—

Here is another and new contribution to "the Indian Kings" portraits. The above are not mentioned by Challoner Smith under Bernard Lens (1659-1725) and are from The Carson Catalogue of Engraved Portraits, sold in Phila., December 16-17, 1905. It will make an interesting addition to the notes I sent previously on the same subject.

Faithfully,
CHAS. HENRY HART.

1/23/07.

4238. THE FOUR INDIAN KINGS. Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, Emperour of the Six Nations; Sa Ga Yean Qua Rah Tow, King of the Maquas; Oh Nee Yeath Tow No Riow, King of Ganijoh-Hore; E. Tow Oh Kaom, King of the River Nation. Four bust portraits. Ovals with fancy borders, the titles on tablets beneath the ovals, all engraved on one sheet. *Mezzotinto.*

Height 12 14-16 inches; width 9 13-16 inches.

Done after the Original Limnings Drawn from y^r Life
by B. Lens Jun^r. B. Lens exc. Fine impression.
Very rare.

Our associate, Clarence Saunders Brigham has located and listed diaries of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman which appear in the following memorandum:

DIARY OF REV. EBENEZER PARKMAN.

A = American Antiquarian Society.

G = Mrs. W. R. Gould, to go to Westborough Historical Society.

M = Massachusetts Historical Society.

P = Printed edition of Parkman Diary.

W = Westborough Historical Society.

Diurna, 1723, 24, 26, 27, 28. [A]

Diary, 1737. [P]

1738-1740. [G]

1744-48, 1750-52, 1754, 1756-May '61, June 1764-

3 July '69. [A]

1771-73. [M]

1773-75. [G]

July-Dec.

1775 [A]

Aug. 1777. [A]

1777-78. [G]

1778-80. [P]

1781-82. [M]

The American Antiquarian Society also possesses a series of his "Natalitia" or birthday reflections, from 1728-1734, 1740, 1743-1783; and two portfolios of sermons and notes.

C. S. B., Nov. 1906.

Further information regarding the Parkman manuscripts is desired.

Four of our original Mather portraits namely, those of Richard, Increase, Cotton and Samuel, the son of Cotton Mather, have been copied by Mrs. Harry Thompson of Paris, France, for Mr. Alonzo C. Mather of Buffalo, N. Y.

By order of the Council the seal of the Society has been redrawn, the date of incorporation, 1812, added, and plates of various sizes made therefrom. Upon the reverse of the original drawing, which has been framed and hung in the Main Hall appears in the handwriting of our founder,

Designed

by

I. Thomas.

Drawn by

John R. Penniman

Boston, 1815.

An appeal for additions to our rare collection of Harvard College theses appeared in the librarian's report of October, 1905. He has since been asked the source of the accession there mentioned. In "Donations Vol. 2" on page 67 under October 1, 1833 is the following entry: "Catalogues, Theses and Questiones of Harvard and Yale Colleges from 1719 to 1820:—Those of Harvard are greatest in number and embrace nearly all the years during the above period. They came from Boston accompanying a Box of Books, as waste paper. Presented by Dr. John Green of Worcester." The wise giver was a member of our Council from 1831 to 1855. Some years later our associate, Henry Stevens of London, in forwarding the gift of our first President Salisbury of English county histories, added "to fill case," the sixty-eight folio volumes of Zedler's Universal Lexicon which has answered many questions upon obscure subjects.

The first issue of the present form of "givers and gifts" appeared in the initial number of the new series of our Proceedings. A return to the simpler record of "Sources of Accessions" has been suggested, the present classification and alphabetical arrangement to be continued. All gifts are promptly acknowledged by the librarian "on behalf of the Council" and those of great value may be referred to in the body of his report.

The sources of gifts for the year ending October 1, number, three hundred and forty-seven, namely: thirty-five members, one hundred and six not members, and two hundred and six societies and institutions. We have received from them eighty-five hundred and seventy books; sixty-three hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; fifteen bound and fifteen unbound volumes of newspapers, with collections of manuscripts, engravings, photographs, maps, medals and broadsides; by exchange, one hundred and seventy-one books and seventy-five pamphlets; and from the bindery one hundred and seventy-two volumes of newspapers and three volumes of magazines; a total of eighty-seven hundred and forty-one books, sixty-three hundred and ninety-six pamphlets, one hundred and eighty-seven bound, and fifteen unbound volumes of newspapers, etc.

The Salisbury bequest to the Library has been received from the Executors. It includes six thousand eighty-three books, twelve hundred seventy-three pamphlets, twenty-one volumes of diaries and note-books, seventeen Mexican figures in terra cotta, five volumes of Mexican photographs, two sideboards, a stand of photographs, a secretary, sofa and table. To this list should be added collections of broadsides, diplomas, letters, photographs, portraits, postage stamps, geological specimens, and newspapers. The library is that of a gentleman especially interested in antiquarian, historical and linguistic studies. I would recommend that an engraved book-plate, with portrait of our benefactor be procured for use in this large and highly-prized collection. Mr. Salisbury preserved a copy of *The Universal Traveller* of Philadelphia October, 1829, on account of a brief entry on page 80 relating to our Society and the town in which it is located. The article follows:—

“Wand’ring from clime to clime, observant stray’d
Their manners noted, and their states Survey’d”

* * * *

“Worcester, p[ri]ncipal t. [own] Co.[unty] Cap. [ital] 40 w. [est] Boston, 38 N. [orth] N.[orth] W.[est] Providence, 57 E. [ast] Northampton. It is a handsome flourishing town, the largest in the interior of New England and is about to be connected with Providence by the Blackstone canal, the expense of which it is estimated will be \$500,000. The town contains the County buildings, 4 churches, a handsome edifice containing the library and cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society, and 2 printing offices, from each of which a weekly newspaper is issued. Worcester Co. Ms. P. [opulation] 2962.”

With the gift of our associate, Prof. Arthur H. Church of the University of Oxford, was the following letter:

29 July, 1907.

SHELSLEY, KEW GARDENS, ENGLAND.

Dear Sir:

I am sending you in another cover a pamphlet for the Library of your Society. The collection of old papers with which it deals will be of interest to antiquarians on your side of the water, partly by reason of the communications from New England which it contains. The great majority of these have,

however, been printed in early volumes of the Philosophical Transactions, a few I cannot find there. If on going through the Index Nominum, you should come across any names of persons whose papers are likely to prove of special interest to your Society I can easily transcribe & transmit to you their titles or topics. I may at once say that all the papers & letters of Paul Dudley, which I have indexed, have been published in the Phil. Trans.

On page 6 of my pamphlet reference is made to the two Catalogues of their Mss. published by the Royal Society in 1840. My brochure supplements this earlier work but deals with a different series of volumes.

With the copy of "Classified Papers" I am sending the Corinium Museum Guide. This treats of the Roman Remains at Cirencester, Gloucestershire. Yours faithfully,

A. H. CHURCH.

From Hon. Edward L. Davis of the Council we have received the early Bell Telephone Company circulars referred to in the following letter:

WORCESTER, MASS., Dec. 24, '77

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS,

Sir.

By the enclosed circulars, allow me to call your attention to the *Telephone*, and to some of the uses, to which, it is particularly adapted, among which it is being extensively used between private Residences and stables with entire satisfaction; and for this purpose, is the object of this note. Telephonic Communication between your Residence & Stable, you would find of great convenience, for calling your driver at any moment, or giving him directions, &c., &c.

For its satisfactory working I would refer you to
 Washburn & Moen Mfg Co. (from Grove St to Quinsigamond)
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or to James H. Howe of Webster Mass for whom I have recently applied them, between his Residence & Stable also to the house of his driver, that he may call him at any moment, day or night.

An order from you is respectfully solicited

Very Respy

J. G Tobey Agent
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This communication was written a generation ago upon the reverse of the following circular:

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General Agent for New England.

Box 805, PROVIDENCE, R. I., or care THOMAS A. WATSON,
109 COURT STREET, BOSTON.

J. G. Tobey, Agent for Worcester County,
400 Main St., Worcester, Mass.

Alexander Graham Bell and Francis Blake are honored members of this Society as was also John Edwin Hudson until his lamented death, October 1, 1900.

Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay has marked his entrance into our membership by placing upon our shelves the much needed Federal editions of Lodge's *Works of Hamilton* and Bigelow's *Works of Franklin*. Vice-President Lincoln has transferred from his own library to ours, early manuscripts and American imprints of special value. The Duc de Loubat continues his gifts not only of linguistic reproductions but the publications at his expense, of other important material. Mr. Franklin P. Rice, Trustee of the Systematic History Fund—which has already allowed the publication under his able editorial supervision of some twenty-five volumes of vital records of Massachusetts towns—has presented a complete set to date. The stereotype plates of Palfrey's "Compendious History of New England" were received on November 12, 1906 from John G. Palfrey, executor of the estate of John C. Palfrey.

The family of the late Hon. Francis H. Dewey has made valuable additions to the library. Mr. Joseph Leete has sent with letter of gift dated November 20, 1906 an exhaustive history of the family of Leete, prepared at his expense. The first edition of this work was received with his letter of April 4, 1883. Prof. Justin H. Smith writes: "I have done myself the honor of requesting the publishers to send to you a set of 'Our struggle for the Fourteenth Colony: Canada and the American Revolution,' just out of press, in the preparation of which I received material assistance from documents which your public-spirited generosity placed within my reach."

The last report of Robert T. Swan, Commissioner of Public Records of the State of Massachusetts, was received from him on March 22, 1907, and his death, which occurred on July 26, 1907, caused wide-spread regret. It is interesting to note the early activity of past and present members of the Society in this important work. On February 16, 1885, Dr. Samuel A. Green one of the Commissioners on the Condition of Records etc., in the Secretary's department

sent us their admirable report. Henry B. Pierce and Justin Winsor, also members of this Society, were members of the Commission. On March 3, 1891, Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Public Records of Parishes, Towns, and Counties, now of our Council—presented an exhaustive report in which he paid the following tribute to his secretary and successor. "In closing this report I desire to acknowledge and most heartily, the very valuable services of Robert T. Swan, Esq., the secretary of the Commission, to whom has been committed the details of the investigation since the work of the enumerators closed. It is by his industry and constant care that so many of the errors in past records have been corrected and brought out in this report and that hitherto unknown points of information have been brought to light." Upon the resignation of Col. Wright the Governor appointed Mr. Swan his successor and on July 5, 1889, he entered upon the duties of the office he so faithfully filled to the end of his life.

In the official magazine received from the Maryland Historical Society, in the issue for September 1906, pages 277-279 is an editorial upon "One of Celeron's plates." Your librarian's reports of October, 1903, pages 65 and 66 and of October, 1904, pages 330 and 331, refer to our apparently unique plate and call for further light upon the subject. In the hope that information may be secured through our wide-spread membership, the following portion of the article is offered:

"In 1749 the Marquis de la Gallissonnière, Captain-General of New France, in pursuance of his plan of claiming for the French Crown the territory drained by the Mississippi and its affluents, despatched an officer, Celeron de Bienville, with orders to deposit at certain points, leaden plates inscribed with that claim. A description of one of these plates, in the cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society is given in the transactions of that Society, Vol. 2. The plate was buried on August 16, at the mouth of the river Yenaguè, or Muskingum. It is, unhappily, in a sorely mutilated condition, not more than one-fourth of the inscription being left. In the Proceedings of that Society for

1903 this fragment of a plate is said to be the only one now known to be in existence. The Maryland Historical Society has in its collections a facsimile of another of these interesting historical relics, which was buried two days later at the mouth of the Kanawha, and was (and presumably is) in perfect condition. The facsimile was sent in 1847 to the President of the Society, and we reproduced it with accompanying letter." Then follows the letter of Mr. James M. Laidley from Charleston, January 25, 1877 to our former associate Brantz Mayer, and the reproduction—in which there are slight variations from our plate both in spacing and spelling. The interesting account concludes:

"The Editor has endeavored, but without success, to find out where the plate now is, if still in existence. Miss Delia A. McCulloch, of Point Pleasant, W. Va., informs him that there is a report that it was taken to Richmond, copied by the Virginia Historical Society, and returned to the finder, Mr. Charles W. Beale. Mr. Beale is still living, and his statement is that he lent the plate to Mr. J. M. H. Beale, then a member of Congress, who gave it to the Smithsonian Institution; but there is no record at the Institution of its ever having been received. Miss McCulloch also states that a description and copy were given to the *Olden Time*, a periodical published in Pittsburgh in 1846. As this seems to be the only perfect plate known to be in existence a knowledge of its present whereabouts is very desirable; and the Editor would be grateful for any information on this point."

As the inscription in *The Olden Time* and in volume II of our Transactions do not quite agree either with each other or with the original plate, a reproduction of "the only plate known to be in existence" would seem quite desirable.

In connection with a recent purchase, the following letter is of interest.

WORCESTER, October 26, 1906.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.,

Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.

Dear Sir:

The three Tiles (one broken) which I have this day conveyed to the Society were taken from the chimney of the mansion

built by Isaiah Thomas on the present site of the Court House, probably in the year 1782. It was the finest residence in the town at the time. Mr. Thomas bought the land on Dec. 26, 1781, from Samuel Brooks executor of the will of Luke Brown.

After the death of Mr. Thomas his home estate passed into the hands of Hon. Daniel Waldo. The larger part was conveyed to the County of Worcester, and a stone court house was built upon it in 1845. The dwelling house was reserved and was removed to the rear, and later became the property of Mr. Waldo's cousin, Rebecca Lincoln Newton, wife of Hon. Rejoice Newton.

Mrs. Newton conveyed the house and lot on which it stood and stands to-day, to my father Moses T. Breck in April, 1850. After my father's death, the family sold to John W. Wetherell in November 1863. Mr. Wetherell sold to Walter H. Davis in January 1866. Some time later, Mr. Davis took down the old-fashioned chimney, and I secured these tiles and can therefore vouch that they are genuine.

Very truly yours,

S. JOSEPHINE BRECK.

It has been suggested that the following communication from Dr. Kingsbury to the librarian should be preserved in his report.

WATERBURY, CONN., April 10, 1907.

My dear Mr. Barton:

I enclose you a paper which I had originally intended to send to some Maine or Boston newspaper but since I have finally answered my own query the whole thing seems to me more properly to belong to the records of the A. A. S.

If you think so please make such disposition of it as seems proper and oblige,

Yours truly,

FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY.

DEDIMUS JUSTICES.¹

There is in the State of Maine, an officer, or an office which so far as I know, is peculiar to this State.

This Officer is called a "*Dedimus Justice*."

In the Statute book preceding 1903 the word "*Dedimus*" is not to be found, although the office has existed for many years, but in the Revised Statutes of Maine for 1903, page 57, Sec. 39. is the following:—

"The Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council may appoint in each County, persons before whom oaths required by the constitution to qualify civil officers may be taken and subscribed."

¹ *Supra*, page 294.

In the Index is found "*Dedimus Justice*" and a reference to this act; the word *Dedimus* nowhere appears in the text of the Statute.

No one that I have found knows anything of its history. Its name clearly indicates an old law Latin writ beginning "*Dedimus potestatem*."

Maine was a part of Massachusetts prior to 1820, but no such office is known in the jurisprudence of Massachusetts. Whether there was a Statute of this sort applicable to Maine alone before its erection into a State I have not ascertained, but one of the Justices of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court informs me that neither he nor one of his brethren whom he consulted knows anything of this office in Massachusetts.

One of the *Dedimus Justices* has kindly allowed me to copy his commission which I give herewith.

STATE OF MAINE.

..... To GEORGE O. PLAISTED,
 SEAL OF THE Of York, Esquire.
 GREETING;
 STATE OF MAINE; .

..... You are hereby authorized and empowered to administer (and receive subscriptions to) the Oaths or Affirmations, prescribed by the Constitution of this State and a law of the United States of America, to each and every of the Civil Officers in our County of York, who have been or may be elected by the people, or appointed and commissioned
 by our Governor, with the advice and
 J. L. Chamberlain: consent of our Council: and also to such persons as may be appointed to act as Deputy Sheriffs in our said County and to officers chosen by either branch of the Legislature. And you are to make return of your doings herein unto our Secretary's Office as soon as may be in all instances, after you shall have executed said trust. In testimony whereof, We have caused our seal to be hereunto affixed, Witness—Joshua L. Chamberlain our said Governor by and with the advice and consent of our Council.

Given at Augusta, this twenty-seventh day of February in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven and the ninety-first year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By the Governor.

EPHRAIM FLINT, *Secretary of State*.

Filed, "*Dedimus Potestatem*
 Commission."

I do not understand that *Dedimus Justices* have any trial powers or even that they can take acknowledgment of deeds, or do other ministerial acts which are usually performed by Justices of the Peace. Their powers seem to be limited to administering oaths to civil officers.

The above was written several years since and laid aside but recently I have found, in the Leavenworth Genealogy, page 158, that Dr. David Leavenworth of Great Barrington, took the oath of office as a Justice of the Peace before Moses Hopkins and Gen. John Whiting, thereunto empowered by a "*Dedimus potestatem*." This was June 18, 1819, the year before Maine became a State.

Blackstone says, Vol. 1. page 352—

"When any justice intends to act under this Commission (the King's commission to him as justice) he issues out a writ of *dedimus potestatem* from the clerk of the Crown in Chancery empowering certain persons therein named to administer the usual oaths to him, which done, he is at liberty to act."

So it appears that, in the earlier days, Massachusetts, which included Maine, copied this usage from England, and that in Maine they issued the writ to persons who might at any time be applied to, to administer the oath rather than have an application necessary on each particular occasion.

So the whole question appears to be answered. Still so far as I know, Maine is the only State which retains this office or custom.

In most, if not all, of the other States, any magistrate or notary has the power to administer an oath of office.

FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY.

In the librarian's report of October 21, 1897 appears the following: "On the 20th of October 1847, Edward Everett Hale of Worcester was by vote of the Council recommended for membership in the American Antiquarian Society and on the 23rd of the same month was duly elected. I beg leave to tender him on the eve of his semi-centennial an expression of our most affectionate regard." One week from to-day—October 23rd—our President and friend will have given to this Society sixty years of distinguished service.

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—His Address upon the Centennial birthday of Gen. Robert E. Lee.
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—“St. Andrew’s Cross,” in continuation.
- BEDDOE, JOHN, M.D., Bradford-on-Avon, England.—His “Notes on Crania found on the Site of the Carmelite Friary.”
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—Three of his own publications.
- CANTON, RODOLFO G., Merida, Yucatan.—Alomia’s “Historiadores de Yucatan.”
- CHURCH, ARTHUR H., D.Sc., Shelsey, Kew Gardens, Eng.—Two of his own publications.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Forty-three books; two hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets; and five engravings.
- DAVIS, ANDREW McF., Cambridge.—His “Jackson’s LL.D., A Tempest in a Tea-pot;” and his “Confiscation Laws of Massachusetts.”
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Fifteen books; and twenty-seven pamphlets.
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., *Librarian*, Providence, R. I.—His report of the Providence Public Library, 1906.
- GAY, FREDERICK LEWIS, Brookline.—Lodge’s edition of the works of Alexander Hamilton, in twelve volumes; and Bigelow’s edition of the works of Benjamin Franklin, in twelve volumes.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his own publications; and five pamphlets.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His “Lawrence Family of Groton”; twenty-four books; one hundred and fifty-eight pamphlets; and “The American Journal of Numismatics”, in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His “Some of the Roman remains in England”; and his Worcester Free Public Library Report for 1905-1906.
- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—His Whitsunday Sermon, May 19, 1907; and seventy pamphlets.
- HALL, Rev. EDWARD H., D.D., Cambridge.—His “Paul, the Apostle, as Viewed by a Layman.”

- HAYNES, GEORGE H., Ph.D., *Editor*, Worcester.—Seven numbers of *Journal of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute* to complete file.
- HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His sermon on "The Gospel of the Infancy."
- JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, LL.D., Washington, D.C.—His Report of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution.
- KINGSBURY, FREDERICK J., LL.D., Waterbury, Conn.—His "Narrative and Documentary History of St. John's Church, Waterbury, Connecticut."
- KITTREDGE, GEORGE L., LL.D., Cambridge.—His "Some Landmarks in the History of English Grammars."
- LINCOLN, WALDO, Worcester.—Two books; ninety-three pamphlets; and twenty-three manuscript sermons.
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., Paris, France.—Four of his own publications; and two pamphlets.
- LOVE, REV. WILLIAM DELOSS, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His "Tribute to Reverend Thomas Robbins, D.D."
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—His Remarks on "The Present State of English Affairs, 1689," and his "Lists of Boston Newspapers."
- MCMASTER, JOHN B., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "History of the People of the United States, Vol. 6, 1830-1842."
- MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Boston.—Two books; two pamphlets; two manuscripts; and two photographs.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Four books; three hundred and ninety pamphlets; four portraits; five photographs; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PUTNAM, FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—One pamphlet.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., *Editor*, Worcester.—Twenty-five volumes of the *Vital Statistics of Massachusetts towns*.
- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, Worcester.—Catalogue of Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester, 1907.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, BEQUEST OF—Six thousand and eighty-three books; twelve hundred and seventy-three pamphlets; seventeen Mexican figures; three cases of Mexican and Grecian relics and photographs; twenty-one manuscript diaries and note-books; two sideboards; one sofa; and collections of broadsides; portraits, photographs, postage stamps, geological specimens, and newspapers.
- SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—Two of his own publications.
- THOMAS, ALLEN C., Haverford, Pa.—His address at New York, November 26, 1906.
- UTLEY, HON. SAMUEL, Worcester.—Facsimile of the first issue of the "Springfield Daily Republican," and Tributes to Rockwood Hoar.
- VINTON, RT. REV. ALEXANDER H., Springfield.—His Diocesan Convention address, 1907.

WEEDEN, WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—His "Constitution of the United States as Modified in the Civil War."

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ADLER, CYRUS, Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—His Tribute to Samuel P. Langley.

ALBREE, JOHN, Swampscott.—His "Charles Brooks and his Work for Normal Schools;" and his "Blight on Boston."

ALVORD, CLARENCE W., *compiler*, Urbana, Ill.—Collections of the Illinois State Library, volume 2.

BALCH, THOMAS W., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Balch Genealogica."

BARRETT, SAMUEL D., Athol.—Two bank notes of early date.

BARTON, MRS. CHARLES C., Chestnut Hill.—Seven selected books.

BEALE, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "William Sampson, Lawyer and Stenographer."

BRECK, Miss S. JOSEPHINE, Leicester.—Three books.

BURROWS BROTHERS COMPANY, Cleveland, O.—Avery's "History of the United States and its People," Vol. 3.

BURTON, CLARENCE M., Detroit, Mich.—One portrait.

BUSHNELL, FORDIS O., Worcester.—"The Vermonter" for 1906, in continuation.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW, New York.—"James Wilson, Patriot, and the Wilson Doctrine."

CASHMERE, J. HOWARD, Denver, Colo.—"The Balance," as issued.

CHANDLER, CHARLES H., Ashburnham.—His "Historical Notes on Early American Railways."

CLARK, JOHN C. L., Lancaster.—Two of his own publications.

COUSINS, Rev. EDGAR M., *Secretary*, Thomaston, Me.—Minutes of the Maine General Conference, 1906.

CROWELL, Rev. EDWARD P., D.D., Amherst.—One pamphlet.

DAVENPORT, DANIEL, Bridgeport, Conn.—His Address at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of New Milford, Conn.

DAVIES, Rev. THOMAS F., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.

DEVENS MEMORIAL COMMISSION.—"Dedication of the Equestrian Statue of Major General Charles Devens, July 4, 1906."

DEWEY, Hon. FRANCIS H., FAMILY OF.—Five hundred and six books, four hundred and fifty-one pamphlets; and twenty-five volumes of Williams College periodicals.

DEWEY, Miss MARIA N., Worcester.—One pamphlet.

DICKINSON, G. STUART, Worcester.—"The Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 1907."

- DODGE, Hon. THOMAS H., Worcester.—“Memorial and a Tribute to Elisa Daniels Dodge.”
- DOYLE, Miss AGNES C., Boston.—One pamphlet.
- DUGGAN, Hon. JOHN T., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address, January 7, 1907.
- EMERSON, WILLIAM A., Worcester.—Photograph of the portrait of Col. John Murray.
- EVERETT, OLIVER H., M.D., Worcester.—“The Harvard Graduates Magazine” in continuation.
- FORBES, WILLIAM T. M., Worcester.—His “Field Tables of Lepidoptera.”
- FOX, IRVING P., Boston.—“The Church Militant,” as issued.
- FREEMAN, JOHN R., Chicago, Ill.—His “On the Safeguarding of Life in Theatres.”
- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—“The Periodical,” as issued.
- GALE, Major GEORGE H. G., U. S. Army.—One pamphlet.
- GATES, BURTON N., Worcester.—Three photographs.
- GAZETTE COMPANY, Worcester.—Thirteen bound volumes of the “Worcester Evening Gazette,” 1874–1889; and as issued.
- GODFREY, C. B., Newark, N. J.—His “Continental Congress Home. Its Meeting place at Trenton in 1784 definitely fixed.”
- GOULD, Rev. FREDERIC A., D.D., Worcester.—The Methodist Year Book; and two pamphlets.
- GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—Forty-four books; and one hundred and fifty-two pamphlets.
- GREENLAW, Mrs. LUCY H., *Editor*, Sudbury.—“Inscriptions from the Old Cemetery at Sudbury, Mass.”
- GREGSON, Rev. JOHN, Cambridge.—Two pamphlets.
- HARRIMAN, FREDERICK W., D.D., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Diocese of Connecticut Convention Journal, 1907.
- HART, CHARLES H., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three books; and ten pamphlets.
- HILLS, THOMAS, Boston.—His “Parentage and English Progenitors of N. Coney of Boston, Mass.”
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, LL.D., Amherst.—Amherst College facsimile broadside catalogue of 1822.
- HOAR, Mrs. ROCKWOOD, Worcester.—Twenty-four books.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, Boston.—One pamphlet.
- HOVEY, Rev. HORACE C., Newburyport.—His “The House of God, an historical discourse.”
- HUNT, EDMUND S., Weymouth.—His “Weymouth Ways and Weymouth People.”
- JOURNAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, Meriden, Conn.—One pamphlet.

- LANE, WILLIAM C., Cambridge.—His 9th report as Librarian of Harvard University.
- LAWRENCE, MRS. MARY E., Worcester.—A bound volume of early music.
- LAWSON, THOMAS W., Boston.—One pamphlet.
- LAWTON, MRS. SUSAN E. R., Worcester.—A collection of Spanish music, including two of her own composition.
- LEETE, JOSEPH, South Norwood, Eng.—His "Family of Leete," second edition revised and enlarged.
- LEWIS, HOMER P., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—His School Report for 1906.
- LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—"Historic Homes and Institutions; and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County," in four volumes.
- LINCOLN, CHARLES H., Ph.D., *compiler*, Worcester.—"Naval Records of the Revolution, 1775-1788."
- LINCOLN, FRANCIS, H., *Secretary*, Boston.—His "Harvard College Class of 1867." Report No. 12.
- LIPPITT, HON. CHARLES W., Providence, R. I.—His "The Rhode Island Declaration of Independence, May 4, 1776,"
- MESSENGER, FRANK L., Worcester.—"The New York Mirror" for 1835 and 1836.
- MESSENGER PRINTING COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.
- MOSES, ZEBINA, Washington, D. C.—His "Historical Sketches of John Moses of Plymouth, John Moses of Windsor, and their Descendants." Volume 2.
- MOTT, REV. MARSHALL E., *Secretary*, Webster.—Journal of the 6th Meeting of the Diocese of Western Massachusetts.
- MUNSON STEAMSHIP COMPANY, New York.—"The Cuba Bulletin," as issued.
- MYLNE, ROBERT S., Edinburgh, Scotland.—His "The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland, and their Works."
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NUTT, CHARLES, Worcester.—His "Heirs of Dr. Samuel and Mary (Ball) Brigham"; and two pamphlets.
- OJEDA, LUIS THAYER, Santiago, Chili.—His "Thayer Family of Brockworth."
- PALFREY, JOHN C., ESTATE OF.—Plates of Palfrey's "Compendious History of New England."
- PEASE, REV. CHARLES S., Northborough.—His Old Garrison House Address before the Northborough Historical Society.

- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico.—Three census reports.
- REED, MRS. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Fifty-three books; one hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; nine engravings; and one wall map.
- REYNOLDS, MRS. HENRY A., Worcester.—Sixty pamphlets; eleven bank notes; two medals; a map; and photograph.
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- SALLEY, DR. ALEXANDER S., Columbia, S. C.—His "William J. Rivers, A Sketch."
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—"The Sentinel" as issued.
- SHARP, MISS KATHARINE L., Urbana, Ill.—Her "Illinois Libraries."
- SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—His "Recollections of George A. Wentworth"; and nineteen pamphlets.
- SMITH, PROF. JUSTIN H., Hanover, N. H.—His "Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony," in two volumes.
- SOUTHWICK, MISS JEANIE L., Worcester.—Four books; and a bound volume of music.
- SPALDING, JAMES A., Portland, Me.—His "Friendship of Dr. Nathan Smith and Dr. Lyman Spalding."
- SPIRIT OF '76 PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—"Spirit of '76," as issued.
- SPOONER, MRS. JENNIE C., Barre.—"The Barre Gazette," as issued.
- SPRAGUE, AUGUSTUS B. R., Worcester.—His "Genealogy of the Sprague Families in America."
- STEDMAN, HENRY F., Worcester.—Commission of Thomas Allen as Brigadier General of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
- STONE & WEBSTER, Boston.—"The Library and the Business Man."
- STORER, HON. BELLAMY, Cincinnati, O.—One pamphlet.
- STORY, EDWIN B., Northampton.—Four pamphlets.
- STRATTON, MRS. HARRIET A., Worcester.—Two early American imprints.
- SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—His Report of 1907 on the Custody and Condition of Public Records of Parishes, Towns and Counties.
- TAYLOR, C. F., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—"Equity" January, 1906–April, 1907.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—"The Worcester Daily," and "Sunday Telegram," in continuation.
- THOMAS, CYRUS, Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—His "Historical Account of the Indians of Canada."

- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—"The Groton Landmark," as issued.
- WALKER, Rev. EDWIN S., Springfield, Ill.—His "Ancestry and Life of Captain Sawyer."
- WASHBURN, Hon. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Sixteen books.
- WESBY, JOSEPH S. & SONS, Worcester.—Seven books; ten hundred and twenty pamphlets; and two files of newspapers.
- WHEELER, HENRY M., Worcester.—His "Lincoln Square, Worcester, Mass."
- WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—The *Journal of Zoöphily*, as issued.
- WOOD, ALBERT, M.D., Worcester.—Twelve hundred and ninety-one pamphlets.
- WOOD, EDWIN A., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- WOODS, HENRY E., Boston.—His "Family of Henry Curtis of Sudbury, Mass."
- WRIGHT, Miss ELLEN M., Medford.—Her "Elizur Wright's Appeal for the Middlesex Fells and the Forests."

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ABBOT ACADEMY, ANDOVER.—Two pamphlets.
- ACADEMIE ROYALE D' ARCHEOLOGIE DE BELGIQUE.—Publications, as issued.
- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications, as issued.
- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.—Publications, as issued.
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COLONEL THOMAS DONGAN, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

BY EDWARD CHANNING.

Governor Dongan was of good family. He was in no sense an adventurer of any kind. In 1698,—eight years after his retirement from service in New York, he succeeded to the family title of Earl of Limerick,—so that we may know he was of noble Irish birth. His name was pronounced “Dungan,” and spelled in all kinds of ways,—“Duggan,” “Dongan,” “Dungon;” this multiplicity of spelling has worked somewhat in his favor, perhaps somewhat against him; a great many entries in the records have been supposed to relate to him when, very likely, they relate to somebody else,—and those who have studied the earlier records have even taken entries as far afield as “Duncan” or “Doncan,” as belonging to him.

For twenty years, more or less, he had served as colonel,—perhaps not all that time as colonel,—but had official connection in charge of, or in connection with, one of the Irish or English regiments in the service of the King of France; for fifteen or twenty years, or more, he had lived in France and had acquired the use of the French language, so that he could speak it, and, when not over-excited, could write it. The appointment of this Roman Catholic,—who was in the confidence of James, Duke of York,—as governor of New York in 1683, was one of those providential chances which have so often befallen us in our past, in guiding the path of the United States, and in guiding the path of civilization in America. Furthermore, Dongan possessed aptness for politics and the effervescent enthusiasm which are so highly developed in the Irish race. He was a man

who could make friends with anyone he wished; he possessed a certain personal magnetism, certain personal qualities, which enabled him to get along with Dutchmen and Englishmen in New York, and with Frenchmen in Canada.

In order to understand Dongan's work, it is necessary to refresh one's recollection of American history. In 1680, the English-American colonies stretched along the Atlantic coast from the feeble settlement in Maine to the feeble settlement in South Carolina, and intervening between the New England colony and the Chesapeake Bay plantations, was the recently conquered Dutch New Netherland occupied partly by Englishmen,—perhaps half the population, or possibly a little more, of the Hudson Valley, excluding the eastern end of Long Island, was English; the rest was Dutch; and as recently as 1674 the province had been in the hands of the Dutch.

The political condition in New York was not unlike that which has prevailed in later times. The people of New York were very much dissatisfied with their governors and with their proprietor, and they had, to all intents and purposes, rebelled against the officials of the Duke of York. The Duke of York had collected taxes, imposed revenues by decree, without asking the consent of anybody in New York. In 1680, Andros, who was then governor, had forgotten to renew the decree, so that when the collector, William Dyer,—son of the famous Mary,—collected the revenue imposed on the cargo of certain vessels, the merchants protested. Dyer was arrested and indicted on the charge of treason for taking the property of the king's subjects without legal warrant. In 1683, when Dongan came out as successor to Andros,—the lieutenant-governor having administered affairs in the interval,—he had a very difficult part to play. He at once got the situation there under control, and he was very much aided in doing that by being authorized by James, the proprietor, to summon a representative assembly, which was the first body of the kind that ever met in New York. He was also authorized to grant charters of incorporation to the cities of Albany and New York, of the kind that the people of Albany and

of New York wanted. With his peculiar qualities, his command of resources and language, he at once ingratiated himself with the people of New York, so that he had them behind him as no governor had before his time, and very few have since.

The most important achievement of Dongan was his establishing a definite limit to French dominions. There was no more dangerous period in the history of the English and French relations. In 1670, Jean Talon, Intendant of New France, despatched Daumont de Saint-Lusson to take possession of the interior parts of North America for the king of France. This, Saint-Lusson performed with abundant ceremony at Michillimackinac in 1671. The next steps in gaining the interior for France are associated with La Salle. It is customary to look upon his work as tracing the course of the Mississippi and identifying the river itself. La Salle's work was really in opening up the "hinter-land,"—the region in behind the seaboard,—to French traders and colonists.

The force that hindered La Salle and that constantly interfered with the carrying out of the French policy as to the possession of the interior of North America was the League of the Iroquois, or the "Five Nations," as they then were. On looking over the maps which were published in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century, one is impressed with the great extent of the territory which was dominated by the Iroquois. The limits of their domains as given on the maps of Jeffreys, Kitchin, Huske and Mitchell, differ considerably in extent, but even in the narrowest limits that can be assigned to them, they occupied not only a great extent of ground, but happened to live in that precise part of North America which was of the highest strategic importance. Their "home domains," if one can use such a phrase, extended from the hills of western New England along the valley of the Mohawk River to the southern shore of Lake Erie. Indian tribes living to the west and south of the territory actually occupied by the Iroquois were tributary to them. Their hold upon these outlying dependents was contingent upon their success in war. In the fifty years after 1675, their power was at the highest.

The good-will of the Iroquois was necessary to the French and it was necessary to the English, and whichever had possession of the Iroquois and had their good-will, was pretty certain to succeed in the long run. The Iroquois were, however, a difficult set of people to secure; they were the craftiest of the Indians that we know of,—and they instinctively realized that it was a good thing to have the English and the French more or less at war, to have two powerful nations intriguing for their good-will, and to give their confidence not too closely to either the English or the French; so the Iroquois had coquetted with the Dutch and French and then with the English and the French, until the time of Louis XIV. In 1665, he sent over to Canada the regiment of Carignan-Sallieres to compel them to take the French side.

In the winter of 1665-66, these French veterans with some Canadians marched over the ice and through the forests from the St. Lawrence southward to attack the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois confederacy and found themselves in front of the town of Schenectady. To their surprise, they discovered that it was no longer Dutch, but with the rest of New Netherland had been captured by the English, less than two months earlier. This was the moment for a bold leader to have attacked the Dutch-English settlements on the Mohawk and upper Hudson; but, fortunately, the French commander did not seize the supreme moment. Instead, he led his men back to Canada. Later, the French came southward again, and this time found their way to the Mohawk villages and inflicted some slight damage. This vigorous action on the part of Louis XIV was the one thing needed to throw the Iroquois into the arms of the English.

The French also sought to conquer the Iroquois by converting them to Christianity, but this idea did not commend itself to the Indians. On the contrary, they resented it, because they instinctively realized that conversion to Christianity would weaken them as a military power. Moreover, the Jesuits were opposed to selling brandy to the natives,—indeed, there is nothing more creditable in the history of the French power in Canada than

the Bishop Laval of Quebec against the traffic in liquor with the Indians. The Iroquois, however, liked the sensation of intoxication. As they could get drunk easily and cheaply on rum at Albany and could only get drunk with difficulty and at considerable cost on brandy procured from Montreal, they naturally turned to the Dutch and English fur-traders. These, moreover, had no objections to providing them with fire-arms and ammunition. These weapons made the Iroquois superior to the western tribes or the "Farr Indians" as they were called. The Iroquois not merely made the western tribes tributary to themselves, but they acted as middleman between the Albany fur traders and the securers of fur in the West. Thus a constant supply of peltries came to the Hudson by way of the Iroquois villages and every skin that came to Albany meant just so much less profit to the French traders in fur. The control of the Iroquois was equivalent to the possession of North America, and that the English and not the French secured that great advantage was due to Thomas Dongan more than to any one else.

Dongan's position was precarious, for his employer, James, Duke of York, as well as the king, was in the pay of Louis of France, and Sir John Werden, the duke's secretary, was constantly writing to Dongan not to embroil himself with the governor of New France. At almost any moment, Louis might put so much pressure on James that he would disown his agent in America. On the other hand, Dongan, being a Roman Catholic, had the confidence of duke and king, and his knowledge of the ways of Frenchmen gave him a chance to hold his ground and at the same time to maintain a species of official friendship.

In July and August, 1684, Governor Dongan and Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, held a conference at Albany with sundry chiefs of the Five Nations. Two most important objects were accomplished: the Iroquois were induced to desist from attacking the back settlements of the Chesapeake colonies and acknowledged themselves subjects of England. As a token of their amicable intentions, five axes were buried in the south-east corner

of the court-yard of the fort,—“one in Behalf of Virginia and their Indians, another in Behalf of Maryland and theirs, and three for the Onondagas, Oneydoes, and Cayugas.” To emphasize the fact that the Indians and their territories were under the protection of the king of England, the arms of the Duke of York were affixed to the walls of the Iroquois fortified towns or castles with the consent of their inhabitants and defenders.

Dongan now began a correspondence with the French authorities at Quebec which was destined to continue for some years. In 1684, he informed Count Le Febvre de la Barre, who was at the head of the administration of New France, that the Iroquois were under the government of New York and had traded with the people of that province for about forty years and with no one else except secretly. Moreover he informed the French governor that the province of New York included all the territory south and south-west of the Lake of Canada. On his side, La Barre denied that the Iroquois were British subjects. This Dongan would not admit for one moment and reiterated the declaration that they were subjects of the British crown and under the government of New York.

La Barre now organized an expedition to punish the Senecas for their repeated assaults upon Frenchmen and their disregard of French interests. Upon learning of this threatened attack on the subjects of England, Dongan wrote that he should be very sorry to hear that La Barre had invaded the “Duke’s Territories” after his promises and expostulations. As an additional dissuasive, he told the Frenchman that he had caused the Duke’s coat-of-arms to be displayed on the Indian forts. La Barre replied that French missionaries had labored among the Iroquois for twenty years; that he was about to punish evil doers among them; and that he hoped Dongan did not desire to protect robbers, assassins, and traitors, since in that case, he “could not distinguish their protector from themselves.” The expedition was undertaken, but turned out badly, owing to the advanced age and incapacity of La Barre and the lack of coöperation of those under him.

His soldiers sickened and starved, and, making a disgraceful treaty with the Senecas, he returned precipitately to Montreal and Quebec and was soon afterwards recalled to France. His successor was Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville.

The new governor had scarcely arrived in his province before Dongan opened a vigorous correspondence with him. The New York magistrate began by complaining of the doings of La Barre and said that he hoped he would live on better terms with Denonville than he had with that gentleman. He then went on to warn the newcomer not to interfere with the Iroquois who were English subjects and under the protection of the English government. They were, it is true, fighting with the "Farr Indians" southwest of the Great Lakes; but Dongan thought that Denonville should not engage himself in Indian quarrels; in fact, he could not believe that a person of the French governor's "reputation in the world" would follow in his predecessor's footsteps. On his side Denonville was inclined to take a high tone, but Dongan met arrogance with arrogance and sometimes assumed an ironical air which his correspondent did not fully understand. On one occasion he lamented "that Monsr de Nonville has so soon forgot the orders he had from his Master to live well with the King of England's subjects, but I find the air of Canada has strange effects on all the Governors boddys." The Frenchman sought to appeal to the Irishman's religious sense as a fellow Roman Catholic and implored him to check the insolence of "the enemies of the Faith, who by their wars and customary cruelties blast the fruit of our Missionaries among the most distant tribes," and the Jesuit priest Lamberville, who had lived among the Iroquois, added his efforts to those of Denonville. Dongan, however, evidently felt that he was as good a Catholic as any Frenchman; he replied that he would import English or Irish Roman Catholic priests to convert the savages to the true religion. He did import a few, but they did not take kindly to the idea of a life in the wilderness and refused to play the part which had been assigned to them. Again Denonville

wrote:—"Think you, Sir, that Religion will make any progress whilst your Merchants will supply, as they do, *Eau de Vie* in abundance, which, as you ought to know, converts the Savages into Demons and their Cabins into counterparts and theatres of Hell." To this Dongan answered that when the English missionaries arrived "care would then be taken to dissuade them [the Iroquois] from their drunken debouches though certainly our Rum doth as little hurt as your Brandy and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome." At times Dongan tried to cajole his opponent, as when he sent him "some Oranges hearing that they are a rarity in your partes." Denonville, however, declared that the New Yorker's intentions did not at all correspond with his fine words and as for his oranges "it was a great pity that they should have been all rotten." Such were some of the amenities of international colonial politics in the Seventeenth Century.

November 16, 1686, representatives of France and England assembled at Whitehall, London, and put their names to an instrument which is generally known as the Treaty of Neutrality. In this it was provided that there should be peace and good correspondence upon the lands and seas of America and that neither of the parties to this compact should violate the territories of the other on the western side of the Atlantic, no matter whether there was war or peace in Europe. The expectation of the French king doubtless was that this would deliver the Iroquois into the hands of his representative in New France. Copies of the treaty were sent to Dongan and to Denonville with orders from their respective masters that it should be duly observed and executed. The reading of this document must have been disheartening to Dongan, but the Irish governor at once put on a bold front. He sent a copy of the document to Denonville with a request that he would "not seek any correspondence with our Indians on this side of the Great Lake." On his part, with Louis's approval, the governor of New France prepared a great expedition to conquer the Iroquois, but not to attack the English. With nearly a thousand regulars, he set out for the country of the Senecas.

He captured a party of English traders, had an indecisive conflict with the Indians, destroyed their corn and some of their villages, and returned to Montreal and Quebec. Dongan met this attack as if the Treaty of Neutrality had no application to the Iroquois. He supplied them with arms and ammunition to defend themselves against French aggression and wrote vigorous letters to the French governor demanding the return of his captives. In the following winter, the Iroquois took matters into their own hands, marched to the banks of the St. Lawrence and destroyed French settlements within sight of Montreal. Dongan informed his master of the doings of the Frenchmen and pointed out the financial value of the beaver trade. Louis complained to the English king and asked him to order Dongan to desist from his opposition. James, who had now succeeded his brother, declared that the Iroquois were English subjects and had acknowledged themselves to be such before the governors of Virginia and New York in July, 1684. He informed Louis that he was very much surprised at the French complaints, as he was obliged to protect his subjects; he directed Dongan to inform Denonville that the Iroquois were English subjects and to take the necessary measures for protecting them against French attack and to call upon the neighboring English colonies for assistance. Orders were also sent to Andros, who was now governor of New England, and to the other English colonial governors to give Dongan such help as he might require.

The danger to English interests in America was very real. As long as the colonies were under separate governments, it was difficult to bring about concerted action even when the governors of New York and New England were both appointed by James and governed without the necessity of consulting elected representative bodies. The imminence of danger from the side of New France was the one thing needed to induce James to take the final step of consolidating all the colonies north of Pennsylvania into one government with Andros as governor-general and Francis Nicholson as lieutenant governor, April 7, 1688. In recalling Dongan,

he was told that the king was entirely satisfied with his actions as governor of New York and that he might expect marks of royal favor. While removing Colonel Thomas Dongan from his position, James ordered his successor to protect the Iroquois as subjects of New England and defined the eastern limit of the Dominion of New England as the St. Croix River and also declared that that dominion extended northward to the River of Canada, as the St. Lawrence was then known to Englishmen.

In upholding the rights of England on the continent of North America, James Stuart, his Roman Catholic governor of New York, and his arbitrary ruler of New England acted as high-minded, patriotic Englishmen. In constitutional and political affairs, the actions of James and Andros stirred against them the wrath of the English colonists. These suspected the good faith of all three: Dongan's good work in New York was not sufficient to balance Andros' misrule in New England. In the long series of wars which followed the Glorious Revolution, the English colonists suffered severely; but in the end, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the Iroquois were acknowledged to be English subjects. This meant that English territory extended as far north as Lake Ontario. Such an outcome was the direct result of the firm stand that Dongan had taken. To him must be given the credit for first seeing the importance of the position of New York and of the Iroquois in the international politics of North America.

WAS IT ANDROS?

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

In 1688 a pamphlet was published bearing the following title:— A | MODEL | For Erecting a | Bank of Credit: | WITH A | DISCOURSE | In Explanation thereof: | Adapted to the Use of any Trading | Countrey, where there is a Scarcity | of MONEYS: | More Especially for his Majesties Plantations | in AMERICA | *Quò Communiùs èo Melius.* LONDON, | Printed by J. A. for THOMAS COCKERIL at the Three | Leggs in the Poultrey, over against the | Stocks-Market, 1688. |

In 1714, a pamphlet was published in Boston having for its title-page a reproduction of the foregoing except that the imprint read: LONDON: Printed in the Year 1688. | Reprinted at BOSTON in *New England*, in | the year, 1714. | This reprint was a faithful reproduction of the original, the slavish imitation being so complete as to include not only the size of the pages, the quality of the paper, the font and the general appearance of the type, but even the pagination and the catch words. Indeed for several pages from the beginning the press composition of the original was so closely followed that only the minutest inspection reveals the fact that we are actually dealing with a separate publication. The title page however, not only frankly stated the fact that the pamphlet was a reprint, but it had upon its verso a "Preface to the Reader" dated in 1714.

In 1902, a collection of the early Massachusetts publications treating of the currency was published under the title "Tracts relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts-Bay, 1682-1720." There being nothing on the surface to connect the London 1688 pamphlet with the Boston press,

it was not included in this collection. On the other hand, the Boston reprint of 1714, with its Preface to the Reader was naturally reproduced, and in a note the attention of the reader was called to the resemblance of the pamphlets, in the following words: "The reprint follows the original so closely that it requires close scrutiny to detect the differences of the two." The reason for this imitation is not apparent. It may possibly have been mere caprice, but however this may be, the result was that the whole appearance of the reprint would suggest that it was the offspring of the London Press. This suggestion is offset by the positive statement of the imprint that the work was done in Boston. Moreover, it must be remembered that the workmanship of the pamphlet was not beyond the capacity of the Boston Press of 1714. We cannot, therefore, reject the assertions of local origin made in the reprint without some good reason for so doing.

Quite recently Mr. Julius H. Tuttle,¹ while examining a volume in the Prince Library which was printed in 1695,² noticed that the binder instead of using blank paper for fly-leaves had utilized some printed leaves evidently taken from a contemporary publication. A glance at the contents of these pages showed that they dealt with the subject of currency or banking, and Mr. Tuttle's general familiarity with the titles of volumes of that period dealing with such subjects, soon enabled him to establish the fact that they came from a copy of the 1688 "Model for erecting a Bank" etc.

At the end of the pamphlet the leaves thus utilized by the binder as fly-leaves contained pages 3-4 and 9-10 of the "Model" etc. At the beginning was the leaf containing pages 13 and 14 and the counter-foil of the leaf containing the title-page and verso. The obvious impropriety of using a title-page as a fly-leaf had led the binder to cut it off, but there remained upon the edges of the stub, enough of the letters of the title to show what it was. The verso being blank was of no assistance in this regard.

¹ President of the Dedham Historical Society, but more familiarly known to many historical students through his long service as Assistant Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

² *Durable Riches* [by Cotton Mather].

The signature of the pamphlet from which these leaves used as fly-leaves were taken was obviously made up so that after the sheets were folded and the leaves cut, the groups of four pages each which would be associated were as follows: The title-page and verso with pages 13 and 14; pages 1 and 2 with 11 and 12; pages 3 and 4 with 9 and 10; and pages 5 and 6 with 7 and 8.

The source from which these printed fly-leaves came having been ascertained, it was desirable that a comparison should be made with the original to see if there was any indication in the pamphlet itself why they had been thus rejected. Pages 3 and 4, and 9 and 10 showed no differences but an examination of pages 13 and 14 in the copy of the 1688 "*Model for Erecting a Bank of Credit*" etc., in the Boston Public Library, revealed the fact that the leaf in the "*Model*", etc., on which these two pages were printed was an insert. The paper was of inferior quality and much lighter in tint. The font of type used was much inferior, being worn and defective and it was evident that these two pages had been reprinted—presumably in Boston—and the leaf substituted for the original. The presumption that the leaf used by the binder as a fly-leaf was a copy of the original pamphlet naturally follows.⁸

A comparison of the language used in the two—the inserted leaf and the fly-leaf—showed that the following words were intruded on page 14:

"Or by assigning or transferring to such Creditors the then Remaining Lands or other effects at the same Rates or Values for which they were respectively Mortgaged or deposited, And in the meantime"—.

The clause in the pamphlet in which these words were introduced deals with the settlement with creditors and the redemption of outstanding bills, in case of the winding up of the affairs of the proposed bank. Provision was made that the creditors were to be satisfied by the transfer of mortgaged lands or pledged effects, estimated to be equal in value to the debt. The inserted provision added to this mode of settlement the alternate method of an

⁸This is reinforced by comparison with the reprint of 1714, as will be seen post.

assignment of property at the value at which it was originally mortgaged or pledged.

The intrusive words would make, when set up in type and form corresponding with that used in the pamphlet, a little over three lines and one-half. To secure their introduction the catchword at the bottom of page 13 was sacrificed, and by transferring the top line of page 14 to the catchword line, one line was gained. The space required for the rest of the paragraph was obtained by placing about ten lines near the bottom of page 14 in smaller type.

} The discovery of this change led to further investigation which disclosed the fact that pages 7 and 8 of the "Model," etc., were printed in the same inferior type upon similar paper to that of the insert which we have just been describing. There being no leaf containing pages 7 and 8 among the fly-leaves, resort was had to the reprint of 1714, for comparison. The only differences to be found in these pages consisted in the insertion in the tenth line from the top of the page 7 in the substituted leaf, of the words "three, five or". The completed organization of the Bank required that there should be fourteen deputies, who were to act as Accountants, Surveyors, Appraisers, etc. It was provided that until business should be large enough to employ the full number— to quote from the reprint— "any seven (more or less) may be conceived sufficient to begin the same." The amended paragraph in the insert leaf read "any three, five or seven" etc.

The "Model," etc., was at best but a proposal, a mere suggestion of a method by which certain ends could be accomplished. It had not reached the vitality of a prospectus. If the proposed scheme found supporters then the details of the organization could be worked out. Bearing this in mind it will be seen at a glance that some all-powerful influence had to be conciliated by the superfluous and unnecessary work involved in the setting up and printing of these four pages and the extra work thrown upon the binder.

The changes on pages 7 and 14 furnish not the slightest indication whether the influence that compelled them

came from a cranky Boston Capitalist or from some person connected with the government whose good-will it was of importance to conciliate. It must be added, however, that there was one other alteration made in the pamphlet before it was made public. This additional change was an eight page supplement entitled | A Supplement or Appendix | to the Treatise Entituled, | A MODEL for Erecting a Bank of Credit | &c, Or, An Account of some of the ma | ny Prejudices, that will Inevitably ensue, | as well to *His Majesty* as to his Subjects | by enhancing the value of Spanish Coyne | &c, above his *Majesties*, Together with | the most probable means for Prevent | ing thereof, without damage to any, viz. | Through this appendix we may, perhaps, gain a clue to the influence at work to produce these changes.

The pamphlet proper was thirty pages in length. To this the supplement adds eight pages, thus making in all thirty-eight pages. Dr. Prince in his manuscript catalogue of his "New English" books—now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society—entered therein one pamphlet only bearing the title, "A Model," etc., and described it as an octavo of thirty-eight pages. This entry would tend to show that Prince did not own a copy without the supplement.

There is a copy of the "Model," etc., in the Boston Athenæum Library. It corresponds in all respects with the copy in the Prince Library. The supplement and the intrusive material in each are obviously of local addition, the paper, presswork and type being of inferior quality to that in the body of the pamphlet.

There remained one other comparison to be made here in Boston, viz., the pages 13 and 14 used as a fly-leaf with the 1714 pamphlet purporting to be a reprint of the "Model," etc., of 1688. An examination of the reprint showed that it had thirty pages only and that pages 13 and 14 corresponded exactly with the pages numbered 13 and 14 and used as a fly-leaf by the binder in the 1695 pamphlet.⁴

⁴ There being no page 7 among the fly-leaves we are compelled to omit the comparison of that page at this stage of the discussion, although, of course, there can be no reasonable doubt that the differences heretofore indicated stand upon the same ground as those of pages 13 and 14.

This practically shows that the reprint is what it purports to be. It follows that a copy of the original must have been preserved, either in sheets or bound, in order that it could be thus reproduced.

It has been stated that the collection of Currency tracts heretofore referred to⁵ did not include the 1688 "Model," etc., but it is evident that, following the example of Prince, who puts it among his "New English" books, it ought to have been so included. Indeed, if only one of the two—the original or the reprint—was entitled to be included, the claims of the 1688 pamphlet as we find it in our libraries are probably better worth consideration than those of the Boston reprint. This will appear even more clearly when we come to the examination of the supplement.

A look at the British Museum Catalogue disclosed the fact that there was a copy of the 1688 "Model," etc., in that library. Assuming that here at least was to be found a copy of the pamphlet which had not been tampered with, manuscript copies of pages 7 and 8 and pages 13 and 14 were procured from that source. These copies on comparison with the corresponding pages in the pamphlets in our libraries proved to be identical in language. It might perhaps have been assumed from this that the British Museum copy corresponded in every respect with the copies in Boston, but inasmuch as it was easy to make certain on all points, a fresh examination of the pamphlet was called for. The result of this inspection was a report to the effect that the copy of this pamphlet in London corresponded in every respect with the copies in Boston, having pages 7 and 8 and pages 13 and 14 on inserted leaves, printed with inferior type on lighter colored paper, and having also an eight-page supplement with the same characteristics.⁶

Can we infer from this that the pamphlet, although printed in London in 1688, was never actually issued there,

⁵ Tracts relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts-Bay, 1682-1720.

⁶ The copies of pages 7 and 8 and pages 13 and 14 were procured through the services of a scrivener at the Museum. For the subsequent scrutiny of the pamphlet with a view to test the various other points, I am indebted to the kindness of Reverend Morton Dexter.

but was sent in sheets to Boston, where it was ultimately bound with substituted leaves and with a supplement or appendix? Were these leaves used as fly-leaves binder's over-sheets? or were there perhaps a few copies remaining unbound in the binder's hands? Certainly, the circumstances heretofore disclosed permit the suggestion of these inferences, but we have as yet been furnished with no hint as to the influences which forced the changes in the pamphlet nor to the personality of the individual who compelled them. The whole subject is too obscure and recondite to encourage hopes of gaining positive information on these points, but we can at any rate through an examination of contemporary events obtain a possible clue to this hidden power. For a complete understanding of the suggestions upon which this conjecture is founded, a rehearsal of a few anterior facts, as well as an analysis of certain contemporary events, are essential.

In November, 1663, Governor John Winthrop, of Connecticut, submitted to the Council of the Royal Society of London, "Some proposalls concerning a way of trade and banks without money."⁷ Winthrop was then fifty-seven years of age. He died thirteen years afterward. For two hundred years after his death all knowledge of the fact that he had elaborated a scheme for a bank along the lines then in vogue lay dormant. The publication in 1878 of the "Correspondence of several of the Founders of the Royal Society with Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut," reveals the fact that when he submitted his scheme to the Royal Society he left a copy in the hands of the Secretary.⁸ The inference is that he preserved the original. Winthrop's scheme was submitted, as we have seen, to a Society in London. While no action there could have had material influence in the Colonies, we have records which show that the conditions which stimulated him to action in

⁷ See *Currency and Banking in the Province of Massachusetts Bay*. Vol. II., p. 65.

⁸ Collections Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th Series, Vol. 8, p. 26. Miss Frances G. Davenport, who, in behalf of the Carnegie Institution has examined the letter books, miscellaneous manuscripts and such of the guard books of the Royal Society as seemed likely to be of interest, informs me that she found no communication from Winthrop relating to a bank. Her search was made, of course, without knowledge of this paper.

England were simultaneously at work in the Colonies. The author⁹ of "Severals Relating to the Fund," etc., a pamphlet published in Boston in 1682, tells us that in 1664 he consulted with merchants about enlarging their medium of trade. This resulted in further discussion about three years thereafter, which attracted the attention of the Council of the Colony and led to his submitting to the Council a draft of his design "in the dress of a Proposal." After this there are traces of an attempt to organize a bank in 1671, but nothing came of it until in 1681 "The Fund" was put in operation in Boston, where it apparently had some sort of success in demonstrating the possibility of making use of Bank Credit, as a means of adjusting accounts.¹⁰ To this success is probably to be attributed the fact that in 1686 the Council approved a scheme for a bank submitted by John Blackwell, and agreed "not to molest, hinder or interrupt the said bank managers thereof in any of their lawful doings therein according to said Constitution."¹¹ Now the scheme on which this constitution was based can be identified in two published tracts which have been already referred to—the London pamphlet of 1688 and the reprint of 1714. The greater part of the Constitution is to be found in the Massachusetts Archives where the scheme of the pamphlets takes the form of an actual working plan of a bank. These papers in the Archives apparently belong to the years 1686 and 1687.

Still another document has come to light, which makes use of this same scheme, this time in the way of a prospectus. It was found in manuscript in the Winthrop papers and has been published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts

⁹ Identified by J. Hammond Trumbull as Rev. John Woodbridge. Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October, 1884.

¹⁰ "Severals relating to the Fund," etc. was reprinted in "Tracts relating to the Currency of Massachusetts Bay, 1682-1720." What has since been found out about the Fund is told in a paper read before the American Antiquarian Society and published in the Proceedings of that Society, for April, 1903.

¹¹ This is from a report of the Committee. There is also in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 126, pp. 103, 104, a draft of a vote of approval of a proposal made by John Blackwell. This is dated September 27th, 1686. The Council Records show that it was offered then and passed in November. Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society November, 1899, pp. 272, 277.

Historical Society.¹² The manuscript prospectus is in the hand writing of John Blackwell, and is furnished with a title page which concludes with these words, "Published by the Proposers, Anno 1687." This language would naturally lead to the conclusion that the prospectus was actually printed at the designated date, were the manuscript in the hand writing of some member of the Winthrop family. Mr. Tuttle has identified the hand writing as that of Blackwell, hence we may perhaps conclude that it is the very "abstract of the book intended to be printed" about the proposed bank, for which Blackwell in a letter which has been preserved, claimed compensation in 1688.¹³ The evident community of origin of these schemes would suggest that their respective inceptions should naturally have been in the following order: 1st. The general scheme adapted for use in any of the colonies, which is represented among these documents by the pamphlet published in 1688; 2d. Some sort of an organization before an appeal to the public through a prospectus. This stage of progress is accounted for by the working constitution found in the Archives, to which dates have been assigned in the years 1686 and 1687; 3rd. The final step would be the appeal to the public for support. Preparation for this was made in the prospectus which bears upon its title page the statement that it was published in 1687. The apparent violation of the natural chronological sequence in this arrangement of these documents would be of no consequence if the manuscript of the London pamphlet were known to have been in the hands of the person who prepared the constitution and the prospectus.

Through the papers relating to Blackwell's Bank which are to be found in the Massachusetts Archives we can see that several members of the Council were prominent among the managers of the proposed bank. We find

¹² Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1903. The papers in the Archives were described in *Currency and Banking in the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. II., p. 75 *et seq.*

¹³ *Currency and Banking in the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. II., p. 80. Blackwell's letter is given in full in *The Andros Tracts* [Prince Society Publications.] III., p. 21.

there the names of Joseph Dudley, President of the Council, William Stoughton, Deputy President, and Wait Winthrop. These men are all well known New England men and their names, independent of any question of personal popularity, must have added financial strength to the infant enterprise.¹⁴

The name of John Blackwell also appears in this list. He was the founder of the bank and his presence among the Managers was probably due to his executive capacity rather than to any supposed influence in the community.¹⁵ Although he was a man of some distinction he was but a recent comer in Boston. He had been a Treasurer of the English Army and a Member of Parliament and had married a daughter of General Lambert. In 1688 William Penn appointed him Governor of Pennsylvania.¹⁶

Sir Edmund Andros was not in the Colony when the preliminary work of the formation of this bank was effected, nor is his name mentioned in connection with the affair, either in the discussion in the Council or in the papers in the Archives. Royal Governors did not, however, in those days accept life in the Colonies merely for amusement¹⁷ nor was there enough of distinction in the office to make the mere honor of holding it adequate compensation for exile from England. In the days of the Province they did not hesitate to urge their claims for compensation nor

¹⁴ We find in the papers in the Archives the names of Simon Linde, James Russell, Isaac Addington, Elisha Hutchinson, John Saffin, Adam Winthrop and Elisha Cooke. These men represented the backbone of the Boston of 1686. All of them are connected with the proposed organization of the Bank. Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 127, No. 66.

¹⁵ Blackwell's standing in the community may be estimated from the fact that in 1686, he ran in the preliminary contest for election as a nominee to the Court of Assistants. He was twenty-sixth on the list, from which eighteen were to be elected at the subsequent election, thus receiving a nomination, although his vote was less than one-third of the vote of Simon Bradstreet who headed the list. Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 543.

¹⁶ Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III. p. 498, note. Randolph, writing at this date, says: "They"—that is, the Council—"have put Captain Blackwell, Oliver [Cromwell's] Treasurer, in London, son-in-law to Lambert, excepted in the Act of Indemnity, and a violent Commonwealth's man, to be of the peace, and a man consulted with in all public affairs." Toppan's Edward Randolph. [Prince Society Publications] Vol. IV. p. 113 and p. 117.

¹⁷ "I have nominated you for the King's receiver generall of all New England, which will be a place of Profit." Edward Randolph to Joseph Dudley [1684], Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 543.

were they slow to accept enormous grants of wild lands. When therefore, we find that in the division of the expected profits of the bank, twelve shares were set aside for some person whose anonymity was accepted in the simple phrase, "I do not know who," by the person who tells us of this proposed distribution, we may suspect that the intended recipient was of considerable importance. That this was so, still more plainly appears in a letter of Dudley's written in December, 1687, in which, while treating of the same subject, he says, "Further speech about the matter I deem not convenient until we are further advanced, etc." If this person was Andros, there is no reason to suppose that he himself would have objected to having his name known. It is plain, however, that on the financial side the name of the Governor would have been of no use while on the political side it would probably have been actually harmful. This motive may have been strong enough to have led to the suppression of the name. Various circumstances, however, tend to connect him indirectly with the failure of the scheme, notwithstanding the fact that the enormous extent of the territory under his control seriously interfered with his touch with affairs in Boston.

When he arrived in Massachusetts in December, 1686, the preliminary work on the organization of the bank was well along. Blackwell's prospectus with its title-page bearing the words, "published in 1687" must at that time have been practically ready. One of the first things to which Andros directed his attention was the currency question. He had positive orders to regulate "the price of pieces of eight and other foreign coins" "to such current value" as he should find most requisite for trade in New England.¹⁸

The question of the rate at which these coins should circulate was before the Council several times. The opinions of sundry goldsmiths and of the principal merchants of Boston and of Salem were obtained in open hearings. One proposition that was submitted involved the raising the

¹⁸ Andros's struggle with this question is developed in Andros's Proclamation Money. Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, April 1900.

rate at which the New-England money should circulate. Randolph records that "His Ex^{ce} wholly declared against Setting any value upon the New England mony further than the Intrinsick value upon the New Engl^d and so used in trade and accounted as Bullion."¹⁹ Notwithstanding this, he ultimately followed the advice of the merchants who appeared before the Council and on the 10th of March, 1686-7 an order was passed relative to the rates at which certain coins should be received in payments, in which it was provided "that the p^rsent New Engl^d mony do passe for value as formerly," and on the 12th the same was proclaimed by beat of drum and sound of trumpet.²⁰

If we now turn to the supplement of the 1688 pamphlet we find that seven of its eight pages are devoted to a discussion of the question suggested in its title, "the many prejudices that would inevitably ensue * * * by enhancing the value of Spanish Coyne," thus leaving only one page in which to set forth the proposed relief, a bank of credit. The writer advocates the adoption of sterling money as the measure of values, and notwithstanding the fact that nearly a page has already been devoted in the pamphlet itself to the discussion of the effect of the balance of foreign trade upon the money market, he renews the statements already made in the pamphlet and reiterates the arguments already enforced. He asserts that trade balances must ultimately settle the question of the quantity of the precious metals that can be retained in the Colony and suggests as a temporary relief a Bank of Credit. This he thinks will straighten matters out "to the enriching and Flourishing of his Majesties subjects in this his Territory of New-England."

The "Model," etc., of 1688, in the form in which we meet with it, with the supplement attached, was therefore, not-

¹⁹ Andros Records, Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October 1899, p. 252.

²⁰ Andros's instructions were to fix the rates at which certain foreign coins should pass. Apparently New England money was not mentioned. He evidently knew nothing about the subject and wisely determined to leave matters as they were. He practically anticipated Queen Anne's Proclamation money. See Andros's Proclamation Money, Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April 1900.

withstanding its London imprint, addressed exclusively to the People of New England. "His Ex^{ce}," said Randolph, "wholly declared against setting any value upon the New England money further than the Intrinsick value upon the New Engl^d and so used in trade and accounted as Bullion." These views of His Excellency were advocated in the supplement but not in Blackwell's prospectus. It would seem as if this publication must have displaced the prospectus. We know that the "Model" etc., with its supplement was printed and has been preserved but notwithstanding the statement on the title page of the manuscript prospectus asserting that it was published in 1687, we have yet to see a contemporary copy of that document in print.

It has been stated that the 1688 pamphlet devoted nearly a page to the discussion of the effect of the balance of foreign trade upon the local money market and further that there was a manifest community of origin between Blackwell's prospectus and this pamphlet. An examination of the differences between the two, that is to say the "Model," etc., itself irrespective of the supplement and the prospectus, discloses the fact that the argument based upon the balance of trade does not appear in Blackwell's prospectus. Here we have clearly another point of disagreement between the person who prepared the prospectus and the one who wrote the supplement. While these differences may not seem to furnish an adequate cause for the suppression of the prospectus and the substitution of the pamphlet with its supplement, the enforced adoption of those measures would undoubtedly have caused heart-burnings and stirred up rancor. It could only have been accomplished by some person of great influence and power, and would undoubtedly have been a threat to the success of the scheme. As a matter of fact the proposed bank disappeared in 1688 and simultaneously Blackwell left the Colony. The dislike of Randolph, the Secretary of the Council, for Blackwell finds abundant expression in his correspondence and we may assume that Andros shared his feelings. Elisha Cooke must also have been *persona non grata* to both of them, yet, the organization of the

bank, in which "The Cheife Governor" was to be "Grand Patron" was continued after Andros's arrival, the Constitution itself not having been finally adopted until April 25, 1687,²¹ and Elisha Cooke not having been formally admitted to the Partnership until June 27, 1687, when this was accomplished by the execution of a document through which we learn much of what is known about the whole scheme.²² If, therefore, these men were obnoxious to Andros, and it would seem they must have been, the "Grand Patron" bottled up his hostility for a while.

The discovery of the manuscript prospectus in the Winthrop papers is but a slender thread with which to connect this affair with the plan for a bank, submitted to the Royal Society in 1663. Yet, a theory which would at the same time account for the presence of Blackwell's prospectus among the Winthrop papers, and explain the absence of Winthrop's own scheme, is entitled to some consideration.²³

It is inconceivable that such a man as Winthrop should not have preserved the original scheme. He was a travelled man of considerable cultivation who held high office either in Massachusetts or Connecticut the greater part of his life. One of his biographers states that he communicated several papers to the Royal Society.²⁴ We know that he left a copy of his scheme for a bank with the Secretary of that Society for submission to the Council and an examination of the published Transactions of the Society shows that in 1661, 1662, and 1663 he made repeated oral communications and read at least one paper. His pride in the Society and his faith in the proposed bank disclosed by his correspondence, make certain that he must have handed down

²¹ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 129, No. 55.

²² Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 127, No. 66.

²³ Blackwell's proposed Bank was distinctly to be a bank of issue. In suggesting the possible connection between his scheme and Winthrop's I have no intention of intimating that Winthrop could in 1663 have conceived of the emission of paper money by a bank. My thought is merely that the general arguments then in favor of a Bank of Credit may have been made use of in Blackwell's prospectus.

²⁴ Drake's Dictionary of American Biography.

his scheme to his heirs among the papers which he left behind him.³⁵

If Blackwell was permitted by the Winthrops to make use of the Scheme, its disappearance is accounted for. If, just as the prospectus was ready for publication, some counter-influence prevented its being sent to the printer, the presence of a manuscript in Blackwell's hand among the family papers is explained.

If we have not been able to ascertain positively whether Andros was for or against the Blackwell Bank, we may still reasonably conclude that the London 1688 pamphlet with its substitute leaves and supplement, was put forth either directly in his interest, or at any rate by those who supposed that it would please him. If it should seem improbable that a Scheme originated in America should have been published in London at this time, for use in America, we have the authority of Hutchinson that a merchant in Boston at that period was the reputed author of a contemporary project published in London for precisely this purpose.³⁶ If we seek for a cause for the abandonment of the Scheme in 1688, it may easily be found in the advocacy in the Supplement of the adoption of sterling money as a measure of value in New England. The use of the old New England currency, six shillings to a dollar as a measure of values has been difficult to exterminate even in our own day. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, it would have been absolutely impossible to supplant this currency with sterling, and any scheme coupled with a proposition of this sort promulgated at that time must have met with failure. If we seek for a motive for the evident elimination of Blackwell, the founder and the prospective executive of the bank,

³⁵ The mania of the Winthrop family for preserving documents is sufficiently well known through the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society to need no special citation to corroborate this assertion, yet, if one needs contemporary appreciation of this fact let him turn to the fortieth volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society* for a remarkable list of letters known to have been left by Governor Winthrop.

³⁶ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., p. 188, Ed. 1795. "A project published in London in 1684, but this not being generally known in America, a Merchant in Boston was the reputed author." It is almost certain that Hutchinson actually refers to the 1688 Model, etc.

we may possibly find it in Randolph's assertion in 1686, that notwithstanding Blackwell's exception from the Act of Indemnity and in spite of the fact that he was "a violent Commonwealth's man," he was still consulted by the Council in all public affairs. We may be sure that Blackwell's previous record was enough to insure the hostility of Andros.

Such are the facts, the probabilities and the conjectures which permit us to point to Andros as the probable destroyer of the proposed bank of 1686— a scheme founded possibly upon Winthrop's plan of 1663. History is not built upon conjectures; yet, in the attempt to solve illusory problems like the foregoing, we sometimes gain knowledge of actual affairs.

AMERICA'S INTEREST IN ENGLISH PARISH REGISTERS.

BY CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN.

The importance of the preservation in England of the first records of emigrants to America in the Seventeenth Century was impressed on me during the past summer when I had occasion to examine certain parish registers.

Not a little service has been done of late by private editors, and especially by the extended work of the Parish Register Society, (divided by counties, and notably by the Lancashire Parish Register Society) in publishing for the use of those interested in genealogical history, the fading and almost illegible early records of the parish churches in England. This is much the same work which is now being done in transcribing and preserving the earliest records of the New England churches. To the excellent work of the Parish Register Society in certain counties of England much credit is due, while yet much remains to be done. This work is especially of interest to us, so many of whose ancestors, names and families can be recovered only from these records. It is desired that the brief mention, I herewith make of a glance at two of the English parish records, not yet reached by the English Society, may suggest whether some American Societies might not be glad to coöperate cordially with English scholars in bringing about the preservation of registers of parishes from which many families came to America in the Seventeenth Century.

One day in June I went to Widford in the County of Hertford, twenty-five miles north of London, to examine the parish register of the Church of St. John the Baptist, of which the Rev. J. Traviss Lockwood is rector. Whitford Manor was given by William the Conqueror to his sons.

The north wall of the church was in existence at the time of the Norman conquest and the cross-timbers are seven hundred years old. At the old font, which may still be seen, was baptized in the year 1604, John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. In the first volume of the register, which dates back to 1562, I read that Bennett Eliot and Lettyes Aggar, the father and mother of John Eliot, were married on the 30th of October, 1598, and that Sarah Eliot, a daughter, was baptized on January 13th, 1599, (O. S.). Regarding John Eliot the Apostle, I quote these words from the Register in the handwriting of the rector, Rev. Mr. Payton:

"John Elliott the sonne of Bennett Elliott was baptized the fifth day of August in the yeere of o^r Lord God 1604."

Other names well known in New England and throughout the United States appear in the parish book at Widford Rectory, but Mr. Lockwood, the present rector, said that persons in England do not care to examine this old register; no one has ever called to look at it except some one from America.

From Widford I drove ten miles to Nazing Vicarage, in Waltham Cross, not far from Epping Forest, to examine another parish register. I found the book in a cupboard in one of the rooms of the house occupied by the Rev. Thomas Ward Goddard, the Vicar of the Church at Nazing. The register which I wished to examine was the earliest volume and is full of baptismal, marriage and death notices from the year 1558 to 1687. It was in a very dilapidated condition; the leaves were torn and the ink was so faded on many pages that it was almost impossible to decipher the writing. Mr. Goddard told me that during the many years he had been Vicar at Nazing no one in England had ever examined the book. Americans, he added, were the only ones who took the slightest interest in the condition of the register. Looking over the pages of this ancient volume I found the dates of the baptism of many who were later emigrants to America; for it is well known that a number of people from Nazing came to Roxbury in New England, including the ancestors of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Genera-

Heath of the Revolutionary War, George Bancroft, the historian, and Dr. William Paine, the Vice-President of the American Antiquarian Society when the Society was formed in 1812.

Names I read on the register were Holmes, Ruggles, Wilkinson, Payson, Heath, Chandler, Lawrence, Alger, Gladwin, Camp, Mills, Adams, Goodrich, Hyde, Mansfield, Simons, Grant, Hawkins, Day, Sumner, Gibbs, Graves, Hale, Ramsey, Prentice and Ford.

The descendants of many of the families above referred to can obtain valuable information regarding their ancestors from this old parish register belonging to the Church at Nazing; but before many years it will be impossible to obtain such information, unless steps are taken to have copies made of these old volumes in the small parishes of England. The books are fast going to decay, and it would appear that they have especial interest for people from our own country. It is greatly to be desired that, with American aid, the Parish Register Society might make careful copies of these old parish registers, which would thus be made accessible to institutions in the United States, like the American Antiquarian Society. This would be a pious work and would be heartily appreciated by historical students and by many others in years to come. As many scholars and historians in the United States would be interested in having such copies made, which would give particulars regarding men who came to New England from 1620 to 1640, I have taken the liberty of speaking of these parish registers which I examined during a recent visit in Great Britain.

THE SOCIETY'S LAND TITLES.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

By the will of our late President, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, this Society has come into possession of the Mansion-house at Lincoln Square, diagonally opposite the Society's hall. One hundred years ago this square was the centre and life of the town. Here, or in the neighborhood lived, or had lived Isaiah Thomas, Stephen Salisbury the first, the first Levi Lincoln, the second John Chandler, Timothy Paine, Daniel Waldo, the Lynde, Bangs and Wheeler families. Here were the warehouses of Mr. Waldo and Mr. Salisbury, with their large interior jobbing trade. The tavern still stands close by, at which Washington was a guest in 1789, and in which Lafayette breakfasted in 1829.

The first saw- and grist-mill in Worcester stood a few feet north of the square, on land granted by the Proprietors of Worcester to Capt. John Wing of Boston, May 22, 1685, this tract containing "ten rod of land round where his mills standeth, together with the privilege of the mill b[r]ooke to him only and his heires whilst hee or they keep the mills in repair for the towns use." Captain Wing was on the same day admitted as "an inhabitant in the village of Worcester," and at about the same time was appointed to fill a vacancy on the committee named by the General Court for the settlement of the town. Captain Wing, by his will filed in the Suffolk Registry Feb. 14, 1703, left this mill lot with other large holdings to his son Cord, subject to a life interest for his wife. On May 21, 1717, Cord Wing conveyed it to Thomas Palmer, John Oulton and Cornelius Waldo.¹ On Jan. 31, 1727, these

¹ Book 18, page 403, in Middlesex Registry. The County of Worcester was not created until 1731.

grantees made a division of their lands, this mill-site going to Mr. Waldo.² April 22, 1771,³ Joseph Waldo, son of Cornelius, sold to John Hancock of Boston, and on Nov. 5, 1771, John Hancock sold to Stephen Salisbury the first of the name in Worcester.⁴ While the exact date of building the mansion cannot now be fixed, it was probably built by Mr. Salisbury in 1772, occupied by him until his death in 1829 and by his widow until her death in 1843. After her death it was used as a boarding school and by private families, and for some ten years past by the Hancock Club, which bears a name which this writer had the privilege of suggesting.

The second Stephen Salisbury, on his marriage in 1833, began house-keeping in the block which he had built opposite the Court House, and, about the year 1836, built the mansion on the grounds just north of Antiquarian Hall, where this Society was for so many years entertained at the close of its annual meetings by him and his son, both of whom were our most generous benefactors.

OUR PRESENT HOME.

In tracing the title to our present location (page 385, Vol. XIV., Proceedings for October, 1901,) I did not find how it came into possession of William Jennison. The recent researches by The Worcester Society of Antiquity show that it was a part of forty acres granted by the proprietors "for the Minister at Worcester." [Rev.] Andrew Gardner conveyed this to Benjamin Townsend, May 10, 1723. (B. 23, P. 376, Mid. Reg.)

Benjamin Townsend to WILLIAM JENNISON, Nov. 23, 1725, B. 26, P. 489, Mid. Reg.

² Book 27, pages 14, 19, 26, 32, 66, Mid.

³ Book 66, page 143, Wor.

⁴ Book 66, page 193, Wor.

Mr. Allen

Chillicothe 7th May 1773

Please to send me a good opportunity
100 of Limes or Lemmons, 1/2 Dozen of Port
of Good, 2 Gallons of best Spirits, 6 of Duck
1/2 6 pounds of madder root, 1/2 2 pounds of good
powder, which charge to Ant. J.

Y^r Humble servant

10 Limes - 6.
5 lb. Port - 9.
2 lb. Spirits - 3. 14.
1 lb. Madder - 1. 8. 6
2 lb. Powder - 1. 8. 6

W. Johnson

**A CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS
OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON**

**IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY**

**PREPARED FROM THE ORIGINALS
UNDER DIRECTION OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE
BY CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN**

PREFATORY NOTE.

In publishing this calendar of the Sir William Johnson manuscripts in the Library of this Society, little needs to be said by way of preface. The strength of the Society's manuscript collections is in the Colonial and Revolutionary period of American history and this group centering about the personality of Johnson is typical of the material here available.

This calendar includes eighty-four manuscripts. Of this number about fifty are drafts of the Baronet's correspondence retained by him, the latest bearing date Feb. 17, 1774, but a short time before his death on July 11 of that year. With these drafts are letters to Johnson and others, relating to the struggle between Colonist and Indian for the possession of America, the whole collection being an important aid in any estimate of the noteworthy part played by this strong character during the Indian wars and negotiations preceding the American Revolution.

The correspondence with General Thomas Gage and the Earl of Shelburne is one notable group in the collection supplementing other letters between Johnson and these English leaders already published. A second group of importance is formed by the letters relating to the settlements beyond the Ohio. These letters are printed in full in the appendix to this calendar.

NATHANIEL PAINE,
WALDO LINCOLN,
FRANKLIN P. RICE.

Library Committee.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

- A. D.—Autograph Document.
- A. D. S.—Autograph Document Signed.
- D. S.—Document Signed.
- A. L.—Autograph Letter.
- A. L. S.—Autograph Letter Signed.
- L. S.—Letter Signed.
- [].—Information Supplied.
- [?].—Doubtful reading or information.
- * * * .—Omissions.

THE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON MANUSCRIPTS.

1755. Shirley, W[illiam.] Boston. Letter to Gov.
Feb. 25. [Benning Wentworth] of New Hampshire. Encroachments of the French upon the English colonies in America and particularly upon New England; letters received from the home government authorizing measures against the enemy; steps taken in the past; proposed movements set forth in [Shirley's] message to [Massachusetts] Assembly [Feb. 13] and reply [Feb. 18] enclosed; enlarges upon terms of message and reply; expects to appoint Col. William Johnson to command of expedition; by so doing will avoid Colonial jealousies and obtain aid from Indians; Massachusetts Assembly bound to secrecy regarding expedition; wisdom of speedy decision on part of New Hampshire; sends Col. Robert Hale as Commissioner to explain project further if desired. L. S. 6 pp.

Similar letters sent to Governors of others Colonies and printed: Penna. Col. Records, Harrisburg, 1851, VI, 310, to Lt. Gov. R. H. Morris; R. I. Records, Providence, 1860, V, 414, to Gov. William Greene.

1755. Wentworth, [Benning.] Portsmouth. Letter to
Feb. 28. Gov. William Shirley, [Boston]. Acknowledges letter of Feb. 24 [25?] with enclosures; considers proposals for Crown Point expedition reasonable except that Coos should be fortified; agrees as to excellence of appointment of Col. [William] Johnson as Commander in Chief but is uncertain

as to manner of appointment [i. e. by Shirley]; is about to summon full Council of Colony and will consider plan in more detail; welcomes coming of Col. [Robert] Hale; "if he can convert the Exeter members * * * he will gain a great point, if not a miraculous one;" fears greatest difficulty will be the want of money and asks advice as to best method of raising necessary amount. Cont. Copy. 2 pp.

1755. S[hirley,] W[illiam.] Boston. Letter to Gov.
Mar. 4. [Benning Wentworth,] of New Hampshire. Acknowledges receipt of Wentworth's letter [of Feb. 28] and is gratified at approval of plans against Crown Point; agrees that Coos should be fortified; gives further outlines of plans against the French and Indians; thinks nothing upon which the colonies disagree should be undertaken at the outset; pleased that selection of Col. [William] Johnson as Commander in Chief is well received; will agree to any method of appointment of Johnson if the result is the same; Col. [Robert] Hale will be glad of advice in working a miracle on the Exeter men [See: Wentworth to Shirley Feb. 28]; suggests three methods by which New Hampshire can raise money for expedition; is to ask [Maj]. Genl. [Edward] Braddock for an engineer; hopes New Hampshire will be an example to the New England "Charter Governments." Cont. Copy. 3 pp.

1755. Franklin, B[enjamin.] Philadelphia. Letter to
Aug. 11. [Sir William] Johnson, [Johnson Hall]. Acknowledges Johnson's letter of Aug. 1 and has forwarded letter to Capt. [Robert] Orme; [Thomas] Pownall is in New York and letter [to Pownall?] will be forwarded to him; will acquaint Gov. [Robert Hunter Morris] with

record of Johnson's proceedings; hopes money appropriated by Assembly of Pennsylvania may be used in part to aid him against the Indians but fears the provision for taxation of lands of the proprietors will cause the Governor to veto the appropriation measure; "Thus, from petty private Considerations in particular Colonies, general publick good is obstructed;" necessity for union of the Colonies. A. L. S. 2 pp.

See: *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the year 1755.* London. 1756 p. 39.

1761. [Johnson, Sir William.] Fort Johnson. Letter to
Dec. 9. William Smith, D[avid] Bostwick, P[hilip] V. B. Livingston, William Livingston and David Vanhorne, [New York]. Expedition to Detroit prevented acknowledgement of their letter of Jun. 22; introduced [Samson] Occom to the Oneidas as an instructor in religion as desired by the Society; approves effort to obtain influence over Indians through religious teachers as French have done; will do his utmost to aid them in their efforts to this end. Draft. 1p.

The men addressed were the American Correspondents of the British Society for propagating Christian knowledge.

1762. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Mar. 30. [Thomas] Fitch, [Hartford]. Sends speech of Mohawk Indians at Johnson Hall [giving their opinion of the claims of the Susquehanna Co. to land in New York and results, if claim be persisted in]; has met Eliphalet Dyer and [John] Woodbridge: warned them as to results of settlement in Wyoming Valley, but they insisted on claim of Connecticut to the country and intention of founding a settlement; declares "that effusion of blood and depopulating of the frontier must inevitably follow" if this intention

is fulfilled; hopes Fitch will intervene in matter.
Draft. 2pp.

1762. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Sep. 21. [James] Hamilton, [Philadelphia]. Has been
visited by deputies from the Susquehanna Com-
pany of Connecticut and has convinced them
of the un wisdom of settling in the Wyoming
Valley; fears these efforts, with the proclamation
of Gov. [Thomas Fitch], will not prevent settlers
from Connecticut coming; has laid the matter
before the Lords of Trade; if settlement
is made, expects Indians to resort to force;
outbreak should be prevented if possible.
Draft. 2pp.

The deputies from Connecticut were Joseph Chew and
Col. Thomas Fitch.

1763. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey
Nov. 7. Amherst, New York]. Regrets that Amherst
is to give up the command of British forces in
America so soon; Indians recently at Albany
suspected of being spies; they have been sent
to Sir William Johnson; hopes they will not be
allowed to escape as they deserve death; Indians
would despise English if spies were not punished.
Draft. 2pp.

1763. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Nov. 17. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Can not give full
opinions but embraces opportunity of [Henry?] Gage
sent by Commodore [Joshua] Loring to write short letter;
thinks former has reformed "from the indiscretion to which
youth are often subject"; hopes he may receive commission
in Commissary Department; friendly Indians fear war from
the Delawares; doubts the loyalty of the Onondagas; will
write more fully soon. Draft. 1p.

1763. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Nov. 23. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Refers to letter of Nov. 17; describes the attitude of various Indian tribes; many are apprehensive of resentment of enemies and must be treated carefully if they are to be held; advice as to an expedition against the Senecas; proposes movements against the Delawares and Shawanese; some Canadians to be taken to dispel Indian hope of French alliance; has written the Lords of Trade as to conditions and in regard to enlisting Indians; asks Gage's opinion; if latter agrees with idea of enlistment, requests him to give orders on [John] Bradstreet for supplies of arms as well as presents for Indians; will report results of conference with Indians as soon as held. Draft. 3pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 12. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Summarizes interviews with Senecas and Indians from the Five Nations; the enlistment of Indians in colonial forces; Lt. [John] Montresor and others have informed him of proposals made by Indians at Detroit; distrusts Indian promises and would have retained hostages if authorized; French will endeavor to arouse Indians and will supply them with ammunition; English policy is to arouse antagonisms between the various tribes; by continuance of presents would make them look to English rather than to the French for favors; encloses accounts of [Thomas] McGee, deputy agent; they are certified by Col. [Henry] Bouquet; warrants on paymaster general requested. Draft. 2pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 20. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges Gage's letter of Jan. 8 with dispatches for Niagara and Detroit; difficulties of forwarding them

but hopes to do so; refers to his letter of Jan. 12, and repeats certain news as to Indian interviews; steps taken against Senecas and a white man with them; latter lodged in Albany gaol; [John] Ellison who was captured in 1762 has obtained his freedom and reports that the friendly Senecas may be relied upon; sends Capt. [Daniel] Claus's account of Indian expenses. Draft, 2pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 27. [Thomas] Gage, [New York?]. Acknowledges letter of [Jan.] 12 forwarded by [John] Bradstreet; discusses royal proclamation [of Oct. 7, 1763] agreeing with Gage as to its utility in the "southern acquisitions"; northern lands on a different footing; Indian problems in Canada and in the Northwest; advantages of missionary work among the Indians; recommends Niagara as a fitting place for Indian treaty; has heard from Lt. Gov. [John] Penn regarding the Conestoga massacre: fears the consequence of this act despite Penn's proclamation. Draft. 3pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Feb. 19. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letters of Jan. 31 and Feb. 6; white deserters as well as prisoners among the Indians; expected outbreak of southern Indians following that of the northern tribes; speaks encouragingly of number of friendly Indians whom he can rally to British side; urges a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with friendly Indians; specifies provisions favored; [Daniel] Claus not able to reach Montreal; asks certificate as to rank of Lt. [Guy] Johnson that latter may obtain land under royal proclamation; case of Christopher Strubble who deserted from [William] Shirley and has been among Indians; returned in 1759 and was forgiven; other notes. Draft. 4pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Mar. 2. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Express just arrived from a party of friendly Indians sent against enemy; on Feb. 26 party heard of Delawares on way to attack English settlements and on Feb. 27 friendly Indians attacked them, took 41 prisoners from Delawares and sent them under escort to Johnson Hall; writer expects them in a few days; among prisoners is "Capt Bull" son of Teedyuscung; asks Gage's opinion as to furnishing guard for villages of friendly Indians while latter are on campaign; will send prisoners to Albany upon arrival. Draft. 1p.

Friendly Indians were commanded by Capt. Andrew Montour.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Mar. 16. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letters of Mar. 4 and 8; considers it wise to have troops near when peace treaties are made with Indians, and June a proper time for meeting at Niagara; advice for instructions to Maj. [Henry] Gladwin at Detroit; general meeting of Indians at Onondaga; ideas as to obtaining tracts of land from them; news regarding capture and disposal of hostile Indians; [See letter of Mar. 2.] confessions of Capt. Bull; hostile Indians increasing and "the sooner some troops move will certainly be the better"; plans for joint action of friendly Indians and troops; advances of money made to Indians; further advances necessary; needs £5000 at once for presents, and 100 light shotguns for other uses; advantages of employing Indians. Draft. 6pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Apr. 6. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letters of Mar. 26 and 29; favorable results of

negotiations with Senecas, Five Nations, and other Indians at Johnson Hall; expeditions against the Delawares; backwardness of provinces in raising troops; advice as to expedition against Western Indians; approves sending one party via Lake Ontario and Erie to Presque Isle, and a second party down the Ohio and up the Muskingum; this would encourage friendly Indians; English parties could join by means of the carrying places of the Scioto [to Lake Erie]; hopes to hear of destruction of French at Detroit; urges need of money; great benefit of enlisting Canadians against the Indians; congratulates Gage on being chosen Commander in Chief in America. Draft. 3pp.

The treaty with the Senecas referred to in this letter is printed O'Callaghan: Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, VII, 621-623.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Apr. 30. Gage, New York]. Acknowledges letters of Apr. 22 and 23 and has forwarded packet to Detroit as requested; has written Maj. [Henry] Gladwin; arms for troops; has directed Capt. [John] Montresor to order New York levies to Oswego at once; Lt. Col. [Maj. William] Browning urges the forward movement fearing attacks at carrying places; assistance expected from Sir William Johnson. Draft. 2pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir William May 5. Johnson, Johnson Hall]. Has written Maj. [Alexander] Duncan to hold troops at Oswego until [Johnson's] arrival; is expecting last of provincial recruits hourly and will be on march shortly so requests Johnson to await him at Oswego; names men and garrisons to be left at Fort Stanwix and Oneida Lake; Lt. [Cornelius] Cuyler to join Capt. [Ephraim] Lake at Fort

Stanwix the latter to command; requests that Johnson's men be summoned from Fort Schuyler. Draft. 2pp.

[1764.] **Bradstreet, John.** Albany. Letter to [Thomas] May 7. Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Apr. 30; reports from various companies of provincial troops assembling for expedition; has been told by Sir William [Johnson] that Indians are to join the expedition and hopes they will do real service rather than watch "according to custom"; requests commissions for two Majors to avoid provincial Majors commanding next Lt. Col. [Alexander] Campbell. A. L. S. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Niagara. Letter to [Thomas] Jul. 12 Gage, New York]. Conditions at fort; mortification of British troops delaying an expedition because of Indians, but considers latter, especially the Senecas, untrustworthy; 100 friendly Indians in camp and more on the way; Sir William Johnson considers it imprudent to proceed at present, hopes the enemy will not retire and leave no opportunity for a battle; will send accounts of needs at Niagara. Draft. 3pp.

1764. **Bradstreet, John.** Niagara. Proclamation to Indian Jul. 19 Traders at Niagara. Proclamation granting, on representation of Sir William Johnson, liberty to trade with distant Indian Nations at Niagara and prescribing regulations under which such trade shall be conducted. D. S. 1p.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Sep. 1. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letters of Aug. 15 and 16 but has had no opportunity to write Col. [John] Bradstreet; doubts loyalty of Chenusios Indians; summarizes res

of conference with Indians at Niagara; absence of "Pondiac" [Pontiac], the "Powtewatamies" and Ottawas; dangerous positions of small English outposts at long distances from supplies; such posts give Indians the feeling that they have the English at their mercy; important to maintain trade relations; better protected posts if fewer in number should be kept up; expedition of Col. [Henry] Bouquet not started as yet; Indian news from Lt. Col. [William] Browning; Lt. Col. [William] Eyre about to go to England; encloses accounts of officers in his department and of sub-agent [Thomas] McGee. Draft. 3pp.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Sep. 11 [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Much concerned at news of [John] Bradstreet making treaty with hostile Indians at Presque Isle; thinks Bradstreet must have made treaty not knowing of advance made by Col. [Henry] Bouquet; treaty may be renounced by English but fears enemy will consider this unfair; despite this Johnson considers treaty void; motives of Indians in treating with Bradstreet; advice as to orders to be sent latter; hopes evil results may be prevented; has sent Indian aid to Bouquet. Draft. 3pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Detroit. Letter to [Thomas]
Sep. 12. Gage, [New York]. Transmits a copy of his negotiations with various Indian tribes about Detroit; eagerness of certain tribes to be included in the treaty; encloses also (a) copies of letters from Capt. [Thomas] Morris on his way to the Illinois country; (b) oath of fidelity taken by inhabitants of Detroit; (c) instructions to Lt. Col. [John] Campbell and Capt. [William] Howard; (d) account of steps taken to prevent debasement of currency, and (e) copy of permission to people

to trade with Indians; movements about Detroit by Lt. [John] Sinclair [Arthur St. Clair?]. Draft. 2pp.

See: Bradstreet, John, Proclamation July 19, 1764.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Detroit. Letter to [Thomas] Sep. 12. Gage, [New York]. As peace concluded with various Indian tribes "is agreeable to [Gage's] instructions", concludes that troops "sent [under Col. Henry Bouquet] by way of Fort Pitt are stopped"; if peace is not kept by Indian tribes, will punish them severely; further intelligence will be sent by way of Fort Pitt; writer is obliged to remain at Sandusky; will inform Bouquet and [Lt.] Gov. [John] Penn if events go wrong or if Indian outbreak is renewed. Draft. 1p.

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Sep. 21. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Sep. 16; Delawares and Shawanese Indians continue hostile depredations; expects peace with Indians met at Niagara [Aug. 6] to continue; certain Indians north of Lake Ontario have made peace since then; has explained to the Six Nations the absence of authority in the peace made by Col. [John] Bradstreet with Indians at Presque Isle; thinks Hurons and Six Nations regard that pact as invalid; requests by the "upper" Indians for provisions whenever messengers are sent to Johnson. Draft. 2pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Sandusky. Letter to [Thomas] Oct. 5. Gage, New York]. Assures him in answer to letter of Sep. 15, that negotiations with Indians ended in a satisfactory peace and not in a truce; is aroused over its infringement and has sent to every tribe demanding satisfaction; as Gage does not mention time for Indians to send deputies to Sir William Johnson he has postponed

the summons until following year; Indian troubles caused by Thomas King, chief of Oneidas and by the Senecas; experience of Capt. [Thomas] Morris confirms this; encloses reply of Five Nations to summons to arms; report of 17th and 46th regiments to be sent by Capt. [Richard] Montgomery. Draft. 2pp.

In a letter to Bradstreet, dated Sep. 2, Gage had disavowed the peace with the Indians made by the former and explained in letter of Sep. 12. The last named letter, of course, had not been received by Gage when the letter of Sep. 15 referred to above was written.

After the return of the Tuscaroras from North Carolina in 1714-15 the Iroquois Confederacy is usually spoken of as the Six Nations; Bradstreet reverts to the earlier name.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Niagara. Letter to [Thomas Nov. 4. Gage, New York]. Encloses copies of nine letters giving summary of each in an attempt to justify his conduct during the Detroit expedition and return to Niagara; outlines happenings since leaving Sandusky; efforts to aid Col. [Henry] Bouquet; loss of boats on lake; movements and efforts of Lt. Col. [John] Campbell, Lt. [Arthur] St. Clair, messengers to Indians etc.; difficulties in securing provisions; has received letter of Oct. 15 but three earlier packets were sent on to Detroit; has "some satisfaction" in approval of conduct except making "formal peace"; assures Gage that on receiving his letter by Capt. [Richard] Montgomery he will be convinced that this power was given him [Bradstreet] and the blame, if any, is not his. Draft. 4pp. See previous entry.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Nov. 20. Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Oct. 26; attempts to explain parts played by various Indian tribes during and after the peace of Detroit; action of Shawanese, Delaware and

Seneca Indians in connection with embassy of Capt. [Thomas] Morris; things done while Sir William Johnson was waiting at Niagara for the Senecas; further justification of writer's acts on return from Detroit; encloses copy of request to return home made by the Five Nations when at Sandusky; they were allowed to go taking hostages of Shawanese and Delawares to Sir William Johnson; complaints against Oneidas. Draft. 3pp

1764. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Dec. 18. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Dec. 6 received Dec. 16; satisfaction over success of Col. [Henry] Bouquet; conditions which may now be demanded from Indians; favors mouth of Kanhawa as point for trading post with western Indians; necessity of gaining over "Pondiac" for lasting peace; possession of Illinois country will defeat French interference; suggests an expedition or embassy under [George] Croghan the latter to be present at peace negotiations going thence to the west with troops and with some of the Indians making peace; trade favors to be offered outbalancing those offered by French; has many Indians at his home "full of complaints of wants;" congratulates Gage on succeeding to position held by Sir Jeffery Amherst. Draft. 3pp.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas] Apr. 25. Gage, [New York]. When setting out for the west [Detroit expedition] in June, 1764, was informed by Sir William Johnson that rum must be provided for Indians "to make good his engagements"; was obliged to clothe those who went with him to Detroit and make presents to chiefs; encloses opinion of Johnson on subject and requests reimbursement for money thus expended. Draft. 1p.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Has no anxiety for safety of Capt. [Thomas] Sterling; regards with disfavor proposition to abandon outposts; under upright officers military posts aid trade, defeat French and Indian machinations and hold adjacent country to English allegiance; some Americans wish them abandoned because they restrain "Republican designs" and prevent abandonment of "Allegiancy and Dependence to the British Crown"; reports disturbances at Albany over sale of stamps for duties; damage to house of Postmaster "VanScoike" [Henry Van Schaack.] Draft. 4pp.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 30. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Sends letter by [George] Croghan; Croghan has sent [Alexander] McKee to Fort Pitt and [Thomas] Smallman to Illinois; hopes latter and Maj. [Robert] Farmar may aid English cause and restrain French in the settlement; writer's plans for tiding matters along until better arrangements are made with Pontiac; necessity of maintaining frontier posts; plans for expedition under Croghan; forces should be sent even if necessary to recall them later; favors reimbursement of Croghan for losses of previous year; encloses petition from Lt. [Andrew] McFavish late of Col. [Simon] Frazers regt. for land due to reduced officers; considers himself in same class; if Croghan expedition is approved, wishes medals etc. for Indians; encloses accounts of various officers. Draft. 3pp.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Mar. 15. George Croghan, [Detroit?]. Acknowledges letter and accounts of Feb. 14; has forwarded latter to Genl. [Thomas Gage] with recommendation for payment; advice as to method of pre-

senting accounts; understands from Pensacola that the 34th regt. has reached the Illinois country but this will not interfere with Croghan's mission; probable expense of mission to be sent to Gage; negotiations looking to a meeting between Johnson and Pontiac at Oswego; intends to appoint [Alexander] McKee Commissary at Fort Pitt; does not object to [Thomas] Smallman at Detroit unless earlier promises may have been made to Lieut. [Allen] McDonnell or Lieut. [John] Hay recommended by Col. [Henry] Gladwin; other possible appointments. Draft. 3pp.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter [to Jun. 20. Gov. [William] Franklin, [New Jersey]. Acknowledges letter of Jun. 7 with enclosures; favors establishment of colony [along the Ohio river]; hopes he will use every means to bring to justice colonial murderers of Indians; conduct of many frontiersmen unwarranted; expects Benjamin Franklin will have an opportunity to speak regarding the erection of a new colony in the west; [Maj]. Genl. [Thomas] Gage will have no share in such a colony but thinks Lord Adam Gordon would; advises consultation with authorities in England. Draft. 2pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 404 of this volume.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jun. 28. Gov. Henry Moore, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Jun. 14; pleased that Moore agrees with [Thomas] Gage and himself in plans for Indian settlements on frontier; is to meet Pontiac and other Indians at Ontario in summer; if no more attacks on Indians occur, hopes to accomplish much at this congress in way of division of territory; hopes to see Moore soon and would be glad to have Lady Moore and his

daughter come to Johnson Hall; thanks the Governor for his offers of favors and for his friendship. Draft. 2pp.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Jul. 8. [Gov. William Franklin, New Jersey]. Encloses plan for colony mentioned in letter of Jun. 20, also letter to [Henry S.] Conway with recommendations regarding the project; is writing Benjamin Franklin respecting the matter and suggests that he do the same; regrets the hostility shown the Indians; is about starting to meet Pontiac and the western Indians at Ontario and does not expect to return within three weeks. Draft. 1p.

This letter is printed in full on p. 404 of this volume.

1766. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Jul. 10. Benjamin "Franklyn", [London]. At request of Gov. [William] "Franklyn" and several Pennsylvania gentlemen encloses a plan for establishment of colony in Illinois country with letter to Secry. [Henry S.] Conway on same; requests Franklin to forward the latter; owing to licentious conduct of frontiersmen fears an Indian outbreak at any time; hopes to be able to satisfy Pontiac and western nations at meeting in Ontario for which he is on the point of setting forth. Draft. 1p.

This letter is printed in full on p. 404 of this volume.

1766. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas
[Jul.] 21. Gage, New York]. Has applied to the Mayor [of Albany] as to completion and furnishing of barracks for soldiers; one battalion only thus far provided for; demands of Sir William Johnson for boats the reason why more are not available for the troops ordered to march by Gage. Draft. 1p.

1767. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Jan. 15. the Lords of Trade [and Plantations]. Refers to his letter of Oct. 8, 1766 in answer to theirs of Aug. 20 regarding petition of inhabitants of Montreal; mission of [George] Croghan has resulted in peace with Indians of the west assembled at Illinois; efforts of French and Spanish to arouse dissatisfaction; frauds of Indian traders etc. furnish opportunities for French to stir up the Indians and these can be prevented only by enlargement of powers of the Indian Department; cites illustrations of cheating by traders at Detroit; outlines plan mentioned in letter of Oct. 8 for controlling this trade; dealings of Col. [Thomas] Cresap with certain warriors of the Six Nations: considers such affairs as this flagrant violations of his own powers and certain to bring bad results. Draft. 3pp.

Printed with slight changes: Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of New York, VII, 894; letter of Oct. 8, 1766 *ibid* 871; Albany 1856.

1767. Wood, Draper S. Albany. Letter to Col. John
Feb. 3. Bradstreet, Albany. Twenty-five sleds wanted for Sir William Johnson's Indians to enable them to carry provisions from Fort Stanwix [to Johnson Hall]. A. L. S. 1p.

1767. Glen, John. Schenectady. Order to Commissary
May 28. Officers [and whom it may concern]. Orders to pass the bearer, Andrew English, with batteaux laden with provisions to be delivered to Wallace [Wouter Dance?] at Caughnawa for the Indians subject to orders of Sir William Johnson. A. D. S. 1p.

1767. Glen, John. Schenectady. Order to Commissary
May 29. Officers [and whom it may concern]. Orders to pass bearer Adam Smith and provision batteaux; on receipt of goods acknowledgement to be made

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in use; they took trade to Canada rather than to New York; will render all possible assistance to Gov. [Sir Guy] Carleton in regard to obtaining information as to early traders; Indian grievances; Carleton obliged to send troops toward Carillon; no willingness shown by the colonial authorities to prevent encroachments on Indians about the Ohio; is about to go among the Senecas and will endeavor to decrease the prevalent dissatisfaction. Draft. 4pp.

Printed with slight changes; Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of New York, VII, 951. Review mentioned is printed *ibid* VII, 953.

- 1767. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Oct. 26. [William Petty], Earl of Shelburne. Refers to his letters of Aug. 14, Sep. 22 and review enclosed in latter; has taken trip among the Onondagas and finds hostility of Indians greater than he has reported; Indians anxious for settlement of boundary line between themselves and the colonists, and desire compensation for grievances suffered at hands of whites; are not satisfied with promises or with orders to colonial Governors but wish aid from the king; lacking this Indian chiefs can not restrain their tribes from attacking settlements; French emissaries particularly active at this time; urges necessity for new system of control for Indian relations; sends letter by [John Tabor] Kempe, Atty. Genl. of New York. Draft. 3pp.

Printed with date "Oct" supplied: Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of New York, VII, 985.

- 1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 8. Rev. [Richard] Peters. [Philadelphia]. Acknowledges letter of Dec. 14; is gratified that he had so little trouble with Indians and regrets that they would not continue line [of boundary

between themselves and colony] so far as he wished; reasons for feeling among Indians; responsibility of French and of English settlers; pretensions of Delawares to lands mentioned by Peters may be disregarded in presence of Six Nations; intrusion of Virginians [upon land north of the Ohio] will cause trouble; hopes they may be removed; will do his best for the interests of Pennsylvania at any time; hopes Indian feeling will not prevent speedy adjustment of boundary line [with Maryland]. Draft. 3pp.

The lands upon which the Virginians settled were along the Monongahela and Red Stone Creek. This land was claimed by the Delawares and the Six Nations of Indians and by Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York of the Colonists. For the settlement with Indians, see: Proceedings of Johnson's Congress with them in Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y. VIII, 38, (Mar. 2-12, 1768). Owing to Indian feeling, Maryland and Pennsylvania were unable at this time to complete the survey of their boundary line. See Johnson to Thomas Penn, Feb. 5, 1768.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Feb. 5. T[homas] Penn, [London]. Acknowledges letter of Jul. 1767 with postscript of Sep. 12, regarding land which King George granted to Johnson; requests Penn to take out the grant and promise payment of fees; is uncertain whether royal grant will cover his whole purchase from Indians by proper survey or not; expenses of writer have increased since retirement from business and acceptance of official position; hopes king will regard his needs as also his services and reward him accordingly; bad condition of Indian affairs; has heard from [Richard] Penn of a massacre of Indians on the frontier of Pennsylvania; among other bad results is unwillingness of Indians to agree to boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Draft. 3pp.

Grant of land referred to was an old Indian grant on northern side of Mohawk river. It consisted of 66,000

acres and was given to Johnson by the Mohawks in 1760, Johnson giving 12,000 dollars in return. The colony of New York would give no patent for the land, holding that the Crown alone could do so and Johnson did not receive his patent until June, 1769, as result of application to King in 1766 and favorable report by Board of Trade, Feb. 1767. See Johnson to John Watts, Oct. 4, 1769 and Johnson's Memorial to Crown Jul. 8, 1766, Docs. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y. VII, 839.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Jul. 28. Gov. [William] Franklin, [New Jersey]. Acknowledges letter of May 23 by S[amuel] Wharton and is grateful for enclosures; discusses the new plan for regulation of Indian trade; powers of Superintendent of Indian Affairs strongly expressed but management of trade left to the respective colonies; agrees with Franklin as to poor results to be expected; salaries increased but amounts for various services limited; gratified that posts are to be garrisoned by British troops; western boundary to be settled soon; colonies expected to give assurances that white men will not pass the border line; suggests that New Jersey may wish her commissioners to be present at Indian negotiations. Draft. 2pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 405 of this volume.

1768. Glen, John. Sch[enectady]. Order to Commissary
Aug. 2. Officers [and to whom it may concern]. Orders to pass bearer with provision batteaux; on receipt of goods acknowledgement to be made and deficiencies to be noted on orders; batteaux in charge of "Wouter Dance" [Walter Dance?] to receive their load from [Douwi] Fonda at "Cagnowagie" [Caughnawa] and to deliver it to Capt. [Lt. John] Galland at Fort Stanwix; latter will hold goods subject to order of Sir William Johnson as they are for the Indians. A. D. S. 2pp.

On verso are Glen's instructions to Wouter Dance and receipt from Lt. Galland to Dance, each an A. N. S.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Aug. 5. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Jul. 18 to Mr. [Guy] Johnson; information regarding western Indians obtained from "Chipeweigh" [Chippeway] chief; hopes to have large Colonial as well as Indian representation at approaching Congress for settlement of boundary line [Oct. 1768 at Fort Stanwix]; discusses boundary question and asks Gage's advice; long dispute [from 1703 when grant from Queen Anne was obtained] over Kayadarosseras lands settled by payment of 5000 dollars [to Mohawks]; previous efforts by Gov. [Henry] Moore a failure. Draft. 2pp.

1768. Galland, John. Fort Stanwix. Letter to Walter Aug. 17. Dance. Gives receipt for provisions from store of [Jelles] Fonda for use of Sir William Johnson. A. D. S. 1p.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Aug. 24. Lt. Gov. [John] Penn, [Philadelphia]. Acknowledges letter of Aug. 6; preparations for meeting of Boundary Congress with Indians at Fort Stanwix; hopes it will meet about Sep. 18; doubts if Shawanese will be present; will be glad to see [Colonial] Commissioners at Johnson Hall before Sep. 15. Draft. 1p.

Printed Penna. Arch. 1st series, IV, 307.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Sep. 12. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Sep. 3; has directed continuance of commissaries to enable the provinces to make some provision for them but doubts if latter will undergo any expense in the matter; thinks additional provision should be made by home government for deputies and interpreters among Indians; matter of having other persons among

Indians is left by government to the colonies and the need of persons to look after trade will soon appear; communications from Govs. H[enry] Moore, [William] Franklin and Lt. Gov. [John] Penn as to Indian Congress at Fort Stanwix; confidence of [Robert] Rogers in success of his expedition although complaining to [Levin] Gale of ill treatment. Draft. 2pp.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Fort Stanwix. Letter to Sep. 25. [Gov.] John Blair, [Virginia]. Reports arrival of Col. [Andrew] Lewis and [Thomas] Walker, commissioners from Virginia to the Boundary Congress with Indians; has desired them to remain longer than anticipated as Indians are slow in coming; claims of Six Nations; hopes by granting certain of them to obtain a better line than one proposed by Lords of Trade; considers it better to delay treating with Cherokees until settlement is made with northern tribes; hopes Congress will terminate in a fortnight. Draft. 1p.

The treaty was signed Nov. 5, 1768.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Nov. 18. T[homas] Penn, [London]. Acknowledges letter of Aug. 11; outlines results of Boundary Congress with Indians at Fort Stanwix so far as they affect Pennsylvania; accomplished more than he expected considering the ill humor of the Indians and the opposition of the New Englanders; among latter notes particularly agents of Dr. [Eleazer] Wheelock who wished lands reserved for religious purposes [endowment of missionary school among Indians]; as [Richard] Penn has described Pennsylvania boundary Johnson refrains from repetition but refers him to report to Lord Hillsborough; urges his own claim to confirmation by Crown of early grant

of land in America. [See: Same to same, Feb. 5, 1768.] Draft. 3pp.

1768. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter
Nov. 18. to James Jeffreys [Jeffries?, London]. Death
of Mrs. [Grace] Cosby; will be glad to be of any
possible service to Jeffries or to Lady Fitzroy
[in settlement of estate]; received power of
attorney [in matter] Nov. 10 [power dated Mar.
22, 1768]; discusses questions arising in settle-
ment of estate; position of [Oliver] DeLancey;
poor title of late Mrs. Cosby to certain lands;
possibility of life interest rather than power of
absolute disposal; other complications. Draft.
2pp.

See: O'Callaghan, Doct. Hist. of New York, II, 794,
note, 926, 934-937.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Jan. 13. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges
letter of Jan. 2 received since his own of Jan. 4;
thanks Gage for vouchers of [George] Croghan's
account and packet from [Wills Hill, Earl of]
Hillsborough; thinks that lands obtained by
Crown by treaty of Fort Stanwix amply justify
money spent; colonies would have paid amount
altho some delay might have ensued; quit rents
or sale will reimburse Crown if it so desires;
home government will soon need to take some
direction of commerce with Indians and not rely
on colonies; would not be justified in diminishing
estimates [for maintenance of posts etc.]; asks
advice of Gage on this matter. Draft. 2pp.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Feb. 17. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges
letter of Jan. 23; agrees that a portion of French
intrigue among western Indians may be due to
trade but thinks another part is the result of

a deliberate attempt to keep up an enmity between Indians and English in preparation for war; in either case frontier posts should be maintained; defends his conduct and bargain made at treaty of Fort Stanwix; means of reimbursement open to Crown; difficulty of joint action by colonies; reform advocated in management of trade relations with Indians; action in England based on too much confidence in colonies; sends expense account at Fort Pitt by [George] Croghan as also account of expense at Illinois; considers expenses high. Draft. 4pp.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to May 26. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Has received letters from [John] Hay, "late Commissary at Detroit" and Capt. [Norman] McLeod reporting an intended outbreak by various tribes of Indians in Ohio and west; siege of Detroit anticipated; other news from Detroit and from Capt. [Thomas?] Robinson on Lake [Erie]; forwards half-yearly accounts except those of Capt. McLeod. Draft. 2pp.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jun. 12. Gov. [William] Franklin, [New Jersey]. Acknowledges letter of Apr. 10; will discuss with [George] Croghan matter [of western lands] mentioned by Franklin; hopes for successful outcome; pressure of other affairs in England prevents action; lands for Indian school; regrets that he can not offer his land on the Susquehanna at a lower price but has had offers for parts of it and expended so much that he can not lower original sum; no signs of colonies maintaining proper Indian establishments; commissaries have been withdrawn; has kept interpreters at posts or matters would be in worse condition than they are; hopes to see Franklin in fall after a visit to the Indians.

Postscript notes receipt of Franklin's letter of Apr. 29. Draft 3pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 405 of this volume.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jun. 24. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Jun. 12; alarm at Detroit subsided for the present; discusses the situation among the western Indians generally; purposes to take a trip to Onondaga for a month to investigate matters; Guy Johnson will take his place during his absence; news of Detroit by Col. [John] Wilkins; [Gov.] d'Aubry [of Louisiana] has ordered [Louis] St. Ange [de Bellerive] "to send all the Spanish officers and Soldiers"; other war news from "Huron Andrew" and [John] Hay; Indians told that French would return soon. Draft. 2pp.

1769. Penn, John. Black Point. Letter to Aug. 17. Gage, New York]. Has received letter from Col. [John] Armstrong to [Joseph?] Shippen and from contents fears an Indian war; Indians upon the Ohio displeased with sale of their lands at treaty of Fort Stanwix; is about to hasten to Philadelphia to do all in his power to suppress trouble. Cont. Copy. 1p.

This letter was forwarded by Gage to Johnson. See Johnson to Gage Dec. 8, 1769.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Aug. 23. Gov. [William] Franklin, [New Jersey]. Acknowledges letter of Aug. 11; accident to himself at Onondaga when on his Indian trip; thanks Franklin for news in letter to [George] Croghan; English authorities express discontent with extent of grant from Indians of land beyond the Kanhawa river; writer gives his own views in support of cession and is glad final authority

is given to settle matter; notes of late trip among Indians; latter offended with New Englanders' intrusions into Pennsylvania; hopes to be able to smooth over the disaffection; sends respects from Sir John and Guy Johnson. Draft. 2pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 408 of this volume.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to John Watts, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Sep. 25 and thanks him for promise to forward royal patent to lands [north of the Mohawk river]; land given him by Indians without asking in 1760; has proved expensive since; location of lands etc.; patent under great seal finally granted by Crown Jun. 8. 1769; sends money by [William] Adems [being?] the amount of [Jean?] Cadot's pay; requests assistance of Watts in passage of petition laid before Assembly by Capt. [James] DeLancey [in opposition to measure introduced by Philip Schuyler] for division of Albany County. Draft. 1p.

1769. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Cherokees wish the Six Nations to join them in an attack on hostile southern Indians; Six Nations replied that their enemies were those of the Illinois country but that they would engage in no war without consulting Johnson; Cherokees agreed to come to council with the Six Nations at Johnson Hall; writer is troubled over expense of council which he is in no situation to meet; asks Gage's aid in this matter and his advice as to position to be taken in the subject of the council; benefits and evils to the English and colonists of an Indian war such as the one proposed. Draft. 2pp.

1770. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 30. Thomas Penn, [London]. Acknowledges letter

of Sep. 13, 1769 and sends money to pay expenses connected with late grant of land from the king; bearer [John] Robberts can give account of relations with Indians; nothing done as yet by local governments for regulation of Indian trade; fears results of this policy; claims of Connecticut persons to land within Pennsylvania limits considered "ridiculous"; respects of Sir John Johnson. Draft. 2pp.

1770. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Aug. 1. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Results of Congress [with Indians at German Flats] more favorable than he had anticipated; war proposed by Indians has been postponed until after further council with the "Wabache" [Wabash] nation; Johnson pleased with large attendance at the Congress; will send complete returns of transactions next week. Draft. 1p.

For report of Congress, see: Johnson to Lord Hillsborough Aug. 14, 1770, in O'Callaghan, *Doct. Hist. of New York* II, 973-978, or *Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y.* VIII, 224-244. War postponed appears to have been conflict between Cherokees and Choctaws for which the former claimed the aid of the Six Nations and their white allies. Hillsborough's reply is in *Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of New York*, VIII, 253, of date Nov. 15, 1770.

1770. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Sep. 21. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Trusts Gage will be pleased with results of Congress with Indians [at German Flats]; pleased that they are in harmony as to effect of Johnson's advice regarding possible war between [Cherokee and other] Indians to the south and west; during earlier conferences and at this Congress endeavored to improve relations between Indians and Whites, and to persuade Indians to live at peace with each other; efforts made to oppose his work; because of good results obtained by

[George] Croghan and Capt. [Beamsley] Glazier considers their accounts as worthy of approval and payment; is about to make a month's excursion into Indian country during which time Guy Johnson will act in his stead; congratulates Gage on promotion to Lieut. Generalship; encloses accounts of men at Ontario. Draft. 2pp.

1770. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Sep. 25. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Sep. 17 regarding mines near Lake Superior; correspondence with Lord Hillsborough on the subject; thought permission of Indians might be secured and mines worked but doubted the conduct of agents; results of a settlement would be trouble; refused share in Company offered by London agents; thinks that Gage's observations on the question are "extremely just and probable"; considers it unfair of promoters of enterprise to withhold statements as to settlements etc. that might influence judgment of investor; is about to set out on trip among Indians mentioned in last letter [Sep. 21]. Draft. 2pp.

See: Johnson to Lord Hillsborough, Dec. 23, 1768 in Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of New York, VIII, 140.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter Jan. 22 to [Jan Baptist Van Epps and the Trustees of Schenectady]. Affairs of the town as presented in the Assembly; cautions the town against giving away power to unsettle early land grant or to divide the township; only extravagant grants should be questioned and in case referees are appointed, men of "strict integrity & disinterestedness" alone should be selected; does not know enough of questions discussed to give detailed advice. Draft. 2pp.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to May 24. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Apr. 15 and refers to his own of Apr. 18; Indian accounts paid to order of [George] Croghan; thought the account was incurred by order of Capt. [James] Edmondstone; rumors of Indian disturbances in south and west; Cherokee and Choctaw nations; hopes for better news from convention at Scioto but fears war before long; all well at Fort Chartres. Draft. 1p.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jul. 10. [Rev. Thomas Bradbury] Chandler, [Elizabethtown, New Jersey]. Acknowledges letter of May 30; regrets that document sent with it became lost; is sure that he agrees in thought with Chandler in his views of the Church; hopes that he will yet find Chandler's "farther Defence" and postpones till then further discussions. Draft. 1p.

Pamphlet mentioned is the 3rd of the series by Chandler and is entitled "The Appeal farther defended; in Answer to the Farther Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy" N. Y. 1771.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jul. 25. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Acknowledges letter of Jul. 15; regards the "Powtewatamies" as a troublesome tribe; French at the Illinois not so apprehensive as is pretended; expects return of Thomas King within a month; mentions [Francis] Maisonville, who is about to present his suit for lands at Detroit, as a "useful man and a fast friend to the English"; is holding a conference with Indians and will send results later. Draft. 1p.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Sep. 29. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Sends letter by his son [Sir John Johnson] and Col. [Guy] Johnson; is preparing to go again among the Six

Nations to confer as to an embassy to the southward; will write in detail on return, meantime refers him to Col. Johnson; encloses account of salaries and disbursements in his department for last half year. Draft. 1p.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Nov. 16. [Thomas] Gage, [New York]. Gives account of his trip to the Indian country; Six Nations expressed "detestation" at death of Thomas King and sent word to tribes responsible that such were their feelings; agrees that western Indians have been encouraged by the French; intends making [Francis] Maisonville resident at Post Vincent to watch in these matters; regrets increased expenses at Fort Pitt; does not question [George] Croghan's disposition but recommends frugality. Draft. 3pp.

1772. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to [Jan. 1.] J[ohn] Watts, [New York]. Is sending second petition regarding division of [Albany] County to Capt. James DeLancy; is perfectly satisfied with line of division proposed; people desire the courthouse to be at Johnstown; is willing to contribute more to the building up of the town etc. and requests assistance of Watts that it may be made the County seat of the new County. Draft. 1p.

1772. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Oct. 12. Thomas Penn, [London]. Delay in answering letter of February due to business undertaken since then; thanks him for kindness to Lieut. [Benjamin] Roberts and will return money advanced altho Roberts was not empowered to use his name; asks if Letters-patent [for Mohawk land] are recorded in England. Draft. 1p.

1773. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Mar. 19. Rev. [Eleazer] Wheelock, [Hanover]. Acknowledges letter of February; has treated Indians bringing it in accordance with recommendations; hopes a desire for study may be awakened among other Indians and Wheelock's undertaking be marked with success. Draft. 1p.

1773. Chew, Joseph. Johnstown. Letter to Thomas
Jul. 15. Allen, [New London]. Health of Sir William Johnson necessitates trip to ocean; has recommended Allen's house [New London Coffee House] to Johnson; diet recommended; regards to family. A. L. S. 1p.

1773. Johnson, [Sir] W[illiam.] Fishers Island. [Long
Sep. 1. Island Sound]. Letter to [Thomas] Allen, [New London]. Orders ammunition and miscellaneous articles to be sent at first opportunity. A. L. S. 1p.

This letter is reproduced in facsimile facing p. 367.

1773. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Nov. 25. Rev. [Richard] Hind, [London]. Refers to letters from [Daniel] Burton as to religious matters, matters, especially the work of the Society for propagating the Gospel; mission at Johnstown in charge of [Richard] Moseley; religious conditions in general; Rev. [William] Andrews replaced by Rev. [John] Doughty at Schenectady; work of Rev. [John] Stuart among the Mohawks and Rev. [Harry] Munroe at Albany; his own work in behalf of the church and schools of the region about Johnstown. Draft. 3pp.

1774. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to
Feb. 17. Rev. [Henry] Caner, [Boston]. Thanks Caner for edition of church service in Mohawk tongue; understands from experience how easily errors

in translation may have been made; is endeavoring to write a short history of the Bible which will contain a brief "historical deduction of facts and incidents in a regular and well connected order"; thinks it will be of much use to the Indians. Draft. 1p.

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ILLUSTRATIVE LETTERS
FROM THE
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON MANUSCRIPTS.

In printing in full the following letters from the Johnson Collection, two objects have been considered. It has been thought wise to print certain letters that the members of the Society and others interested might know in more detail the nature of the manuscripts in our collection and the manner in which they are being calendared for historical use. These particular letters have been selected because they form a united group concerned with the foundation of an English settlement in what was at that time the far west. They are noteworthy in that they illustrate one stage in the accomplishment of the British and especially the Colonial purpose to contest with the Indians and with France or Spain if necessary, the possession of the territory west of the Allegheny mountains.

*Sir William Johnson to Gov. William Franklin of New Jersey.*JOHNSON HALL June 20th, 1766.*Sir:*

I have been favored with your Letter of the 7th Inst together with the Enclosures containing a Letter from the Company with the Reasons for Establishing the Colony &c of all which I before gave my approbation & shall chearfully do every thing consistent with my Office for Carrying it into Execution as early as possible;—I have already hinted the Affair in a Letter to the Lords of Trade & I am somewhat of Opinion it would answer better that I recommended it in Gen.^l Terms, as an Affair I had heard was in Agitation, but as it is deemed necessary to the design that I sho^d. enclose it I shall not Scruple to lay it together with my recommendation thereof before the Ministry under a flying Seal to your father who will doubtless be consulted on the Occasion.—

I have sounded Gen^l. Gage on the Occasion, who declines being concerned I apprehend it will not be the Case with Lord Adam Gordon. As to what you say of apply^g for an Extensive boundary I agree in opinion with you on the Utility of it, but the Government should I think be previously Sounded on that head Least it might obstruct or retard the Design—

I am persuaded you will use all your Endeavors for bringing the Murderers of the Indians to Justice, the Conduct of the frontier Inhabitants in many Colonies being such as gives us great reason to dread a Renewal of that Cruel War from which we are but Just freed, every Week brings me fresh Complaints from the Inds & but Just now I have recd an Acct of the Murder of 4 Onondagas on their return from the South ward with 2 or 3 more tow.^g Fort Pitt So that I have great reason to doubt of Succeeding in attempting to Calm the Minds of a Revengefull people to whom we are Giving fresh provocation.

I promise myself great Satisfaction from your friendly Correspondences which I shall be glad to improve by every occasion that Offers as I am—

Gov.^r FranklinI shall write to the Compy by next Oppⁿ—*Sir William Johnson to Gov. William Franklin of New Jersey.*JOHNSON HALL July 8th 1766—*Sir:*

The 20th. ult^o. I acknowledged the receipt of your last favor, & Signified my Intentions of Enclosing the plan for the Colony with my Recommendation to the Ministry which I now send you with a Letter thereon to M^r. Secretary Conway, wherein I have said all that I could Venture to do from my

very slender knowledge of him and the delicacy of the Subject but I hope the Nature of it and the interest of some Gentlemen at home, may render it an Object worthy of attention.

As I have not had the pleasure of your father's Correspondence I just wrote him a few Lines wch you can Explain more fully as I should think it were better that my Letter was put into the Office for the Sec' of State but this I Submit to his discretion & hope You will write him thereon.

I am sorry it goes over at a time when from the daily Murders & Encroachments complained of we have all the reason imaginable to Expect an Indⁿ War. Sev.^l other Murders have been Committed Since my last so that I know not where it will end.

As I am Just Setting off to meet Pontiac & the Western Nations who are arrived at Ontario for that purpose I have only time to add that I am with much Esteem, Sir,

Yours Etc

I shall be very Glad to hear from you & shall return in Three Weeks—

Sir William Johnson to Benjamin Franklin.

JOHNSON HALL July 10th 1766—

Sir—

At the Request of your Son Gov.^r Franklin, & sev.^l Gent.^s of Pensilvania, I now enclose you a Scheme proposed for establishg a Colony at the Illinois, together with my Letter to M^r Secretary Conway in fav.^r thereof, which the proposers denied might be transmitted thro' your hands— I have accordingly sent it under a flying Seal, & must request you to forward it as Addressed—

I daily dread a Ru[p]ture wth the Ind.^s occasioned by the Licentious Conduct of the frontier Inhabitants who Continue to Rob, and Murder them.—I am immediately to meet *Pontiac* with the Western Nat.^s at Ontario and wish I may be able to satisfy them.—

Altho' I have not had an Opportunity of Cultivating your Acquaintance I shall always be Glad to render you, or yours any Services as I am, &c

To

Benj.^s Franklin Esq.—

Sir William Johnson to Gov. William Franklin.

JOHNSON HALL July 28th. 1768.

Sir,

M^r S. Wharton delivered to me your kind favor of the 23d of May with the Several Inclosures for which I give you many thanks.— I hope you will Excuse my having deferred an Answer

to it, until my return home which was some days ago, having received it Whilst on a Tour to the seaside for the recovery of my health which was brought very low thro my fatigues etc.—

Tho' I by no means accuse you of neglect of Writing I shall be very happy in your agreeable & friendly Correspondence abstracted from any motives arising from the Subject.

The Extracts you were pleased to send me were very Acceptable, as they contain abundance of Judicious Remarks, & Sufficiently shew my much esteemed M^r. Franklin's Experience, attention & knowledge in American affairs.—

You must before this time have been advised of the new arrangement of all these matters, and of the Reform by which the Management of the Indian Trade is Committed to the Care & Charge of the respective Colonies Whereby the Alterations which you wisely foresaw, are in part made, the powers of the Super.Intend.^t are however pretty Strongly tho' Generally Expressed, their salaries increased, but they are limited to a very Small Annl. Sum for the Various Services & Contingent Expences of their Departments. The Event of which, you seem so Justly Sensible of that I cannot but be intirely of your Opinion, altho' I find that the Lords of Trade think every post that is kept up sho.^d be Garrisoned by the Kings Troops, Yet there will be sundry other Expences found necessary for the Colonies to be at for the preservation of the Trade, which may render it impracticable, as a Union of Sentiment on these Occasions cannot be Expected, for the reasons you have Judiciously Assigned.—

The Settlement of the Boundary Line will I believe shortly take place, it is only retarded by reason of the distant residence of the Shawanese & Delawares whose presence I Judge necessary not as Owners of the Land but as Nigh Neighbours to the Settlements, to whom they may easily be troublesome— Your Province does not appear concerned in this Line, but as the Governmt. think the Colonies should give all security to the Transaction by Laws, to prevent their people from Transgressing, which may be a Case Common to every Colony, I thought it best to mention it, and in Case you think the attendance of one or two Commissioners from Your Government necessary to attend the Treaty You will doubtless take measures accordingly—

I have only now to add that I am
with perfect Esteem, Sir, Your Excellys &c

His Excell^{ty}
Gov.^r Franklin

*Sir William Johnson to Gov. William Franklin.*JOHNSON HALL June 12th. 1769.*Dear Sir,*

Your kind Letter of April 10th relieved me from the Suspence which your Long Silence occasioned and which you have sufficiently accounted for. Indeed my own Situation has been such since we parted, that I can the easier excuse any omission of that nature in another, and this hitherto prevented me from Setting you a good Example, tho' I could not pretend to afford you equal entertainment from the unimportant events of these parts.

I began a Letter near three Weeks ago, but dropped it in Expectation of having something worth communicating in a little time altho' I have waited to no purpose.

I thank you for the Copy you transmitted me, & shall Settle the Matter with Col. Croghan as you desire when he & I has more Leisure than we have had Since his arrival in these parts, and I shall likewise talk fully to him upon the Subject. I hope it will go on with better success than it has hitherto done, but think it will require time and perseverance.

You have doubtless before this time heard from our Friend Wharton, as I expect to do but have not as yet. Neither have I had any account from any person concerning the event of his Voyage, or on the Subject of the Retribution. The Letter from the Sec.^y of State which I have Just received by the packet containing very little, and nothing material, and by my other Letters I find that the Whole face of things is much as it was when we heard before. The nature of the dispute about the Rights of Parliament, and the disturbed State of Affairs at home Create so many difficulties that when it wil end, or other business be fully attended to must be uncertain—I thank you kindly for the Pamphlet you sent me which is I think a very good performance, and I fancy I could guess the Author of it—in return I send at your desire by this opportunity Evans's Manuscript Journal, I also inclose you Copys of the Two Letters from the Two Clergymen which you wanted, I have since had several Curious & Extraordinary Letters from Parson, Williamson al.^t Johnson one of a Very late date, All on the Subject of Lands & Establishments for the faithfull & desiring to know why I did not make public the boundary that they might take possessⁿ of their lands. There are no New Steps taken for carrying on the pious work and the Oneidas have thro' some disgust withdrawn most of thier Children from the Seminary, I believe all attention is more directed to the Susquehanna Vales, concerning the Settlement of which I hear they have come to Some Strong resolutions in Connecticut.

I wish I could dispose of my right on Susquehanna below the price I mentioned, especially as you Signify an Inclination for it, but really, from the Trouble & Expence it has already put me to, and the price I have been very lately offered for a great part of it, I cannot consistently do it. The Account of its being very hilly & Stony must have arisen from some misinformation, for except where some points of hills happen to Come to the River which occupy but a Very Small part of it, It is perhaps as Rich & Valuable for the Generality as any Land whatsoever, & this is allowed by some who have carefully viewed & are now Sollicitting me to dispose of it. As to Indian Intelligence I cannot say any thing Satisfactorily. The Commissaries are withdrawn, & I don't see any speedy prospects of such Establishments on the part of the Colonies as will Answer the purposes of preserving peace & Extending Commerce, neither can it be expected that they will make an adequate provision, or from their different Interests unite in a matter of that nature so as it may be attended with any Good effects, I have kept Interpreters & Smiths as yet at the posts, without which, affairs would not have gone on so easily as they have done,—Belts however, Said to come from the Southward are amongst the Indians & there has been an Alarm lately at Detroit which Frightened & Stopped the Traders at Niagara, & has induced the Inhabitants of the first mentioned Settlement to fortify themselves on the opposite Side of the River, which will probably alarm the Indians & may have consequences different from what is intended.

I think to go up the Country for a little time & do what little I can under the present restrictions for preventing any Union to our prejudice, and as my health is but very indifferent may possibly go down to the Sea Side in the fall when if I should happen to be near you, you may be Assured that I should Visit Burlington with great pleasure—In the Meantime I shall be happy in hearing from you whenever your Leisure will admit you to write to him Who is Always with great Sincerity D^r Sir,

His Excell.
Gov.^r Franklin

Mess.^{rs} Wells & Smith by whom you wrote the 29th April, forwarded the Letter but did not come this way, which deprived me of an opportunity of shewing them those Civilities which your Friends sho^d Always receive at my hands.

Sir William Johnson to Gov. William Franklin.

JOHNSON HALL Aug.^r 23^d. 1769.

Dear Sir

Upon my return from Seneca which was about 12 days ago

I had the favor of your kind Letter of the 11.th of this Month which till now I could not Answer, & even now I cannot be as particular as I co.^d Wish, for not being able to Write without much pain tho I have a Great deal of business on my hands, for on my return in the Night from the Hut of a Chief near Onondaga where I held a private Confefence My Canoe overset, & I had to make the Shore & get up a Bank in the Dark with much difficulty in effecting which I tore my Swelled Leg very much on a Small Stump, so as not yet to be able to go into my study, or write without great Inconvenience tho' it is recovering much faster than I Expected.

I most kindly thank you for the news communicated in your Letter as well as for the perusal of what you wrote to Col. Croghan who has received it; My Letters from home seem to Express a dissatisfaction, at the Great Extent of the Cession beyond the Kanhawa, tho' it is indisputably the Lands of the 6 Nations, & if it had been denied, the Latter wo.^d have proved Worse Enemys than the Cherokees can be, besides I believe the Virginians wo.^d have settled on it at all Events. It is however left to me now, that in case I don't think it good policy to give up that part it will be Confirmed. I wish I could say the same as to the Grant of the Traders to which objections are made.—

I can Just say a Word as to my late Tour. I met near 2500 Ind.^s at Seneca assembled from the Sev.^l Villages, & I found them more dissatisfied than I hope I left them. They are greatly discontented at the Withdrawing people from the posts Which it is not in my power to Continue there, & I don't find the provinces inclined to do any thing material on that head.

The Ind.^s are likewise dissatisfied with the N Englanders Intrusions into Pennsylvania, which they say will involve their people in disputes, They complain bitterly of Ill usage & Acts of Injustice at the posts & frontiers & say that the other Confederacys have invited them to Joyn in Measures for redress, And Indeed from the sev.^l Discoveries I have Made The belts Constantly passing thro the Nations from the French, The late proceedings on Ohio, & their Speeches at Illinois, I must have very unfavorable Sentiments of their Intentions.—After a meeting to be held soon at Onondaga I shall know more, In the meantime I use all my endeavors to prevent a Gen.^l dissaffection, & to keep matters quiet as long as the present State of things will admit of—I persuade myself I have no occasion to Apologize for not being more particular under my present Circumstances, and Wishing to hear from you by every opportunity Convenient to yourself

I remain with Great Cordiality & Truth Dear Sir &c
His Excell^y Gov^r Franklyn—

Sir John Sends his best Compliments, as does Guy who desires me to tell you that he Wrote you a Long Letter last month, & will give you the Trouble of more whenever he has Subjects for them.

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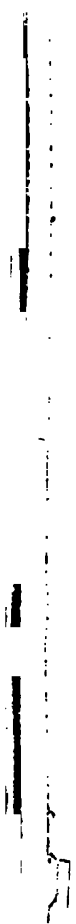
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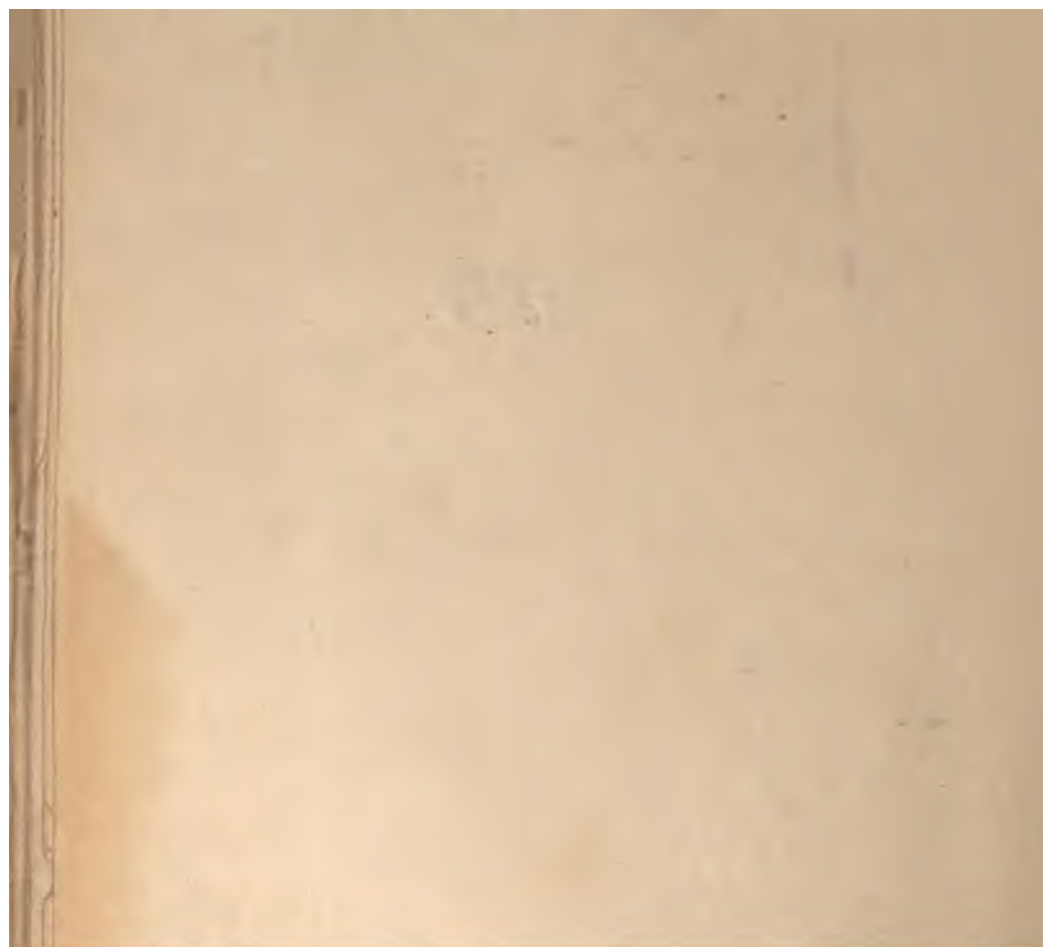
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